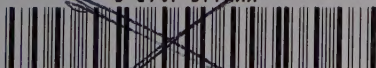


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# TRINITY COLLEGE: ITS INCOME AND ITS VALUE TO THE NATION

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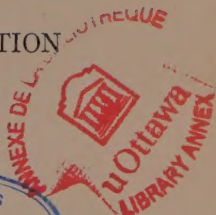
BY  
MOST REV. DR. COHALAN,  
*Assistant Bishop of Cork*

POPULAR EDITION



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# Preface to the Popular Edition.

TRINITY College remains as it was with vast resources ; and the question of its value to the nation cannot cease to be of interest.

Four years ago, as at different previous periods, the University question was a burning question in Ireland.

The final report of the Royal Commission on Trinity College having been published, Mr. Bryce, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, on January 25th, 1907, propounded a scheme for the solution of the university difficulty. According to this scheme the Royal University was to disappear ; and Trinity College, a college for Catholics in Dublin, and the Queen's Colleges in Cork and Belfast, were to be united as constituent colleges of the University of Dublin which should remain thenceforward the sole university in Ireland.

A campaign was immediately started by the friends of Trinity College against the scheme outlined by Mr. Bryce. It was impossible, they argued, to combine in one university colleges of such different ideals as Trinity College and a college for Catholics, the one representing intellectual freedom and toleration, and the other representing intellectual bondage. This was the occasion of the letter entitled " The Two Ideals," which is Chapter I. The remaining chapters give an analysis of the evidence given before the Trinity Commission.

All my quotations, with one exception, are taken from the Appendix to the First Report and the Appendix to the Final Report of the Trinity Commission. All quotations given with the number of the questions asked are taken from the Appendix to the Final Report.

On page 33 the Board of Trinity College is said to consist of the Provost and the Seven Junior Fellows ; it should be the Provost and Seven Senior Fellows:

On pages 54 and 55 there is a reference to the Large and Small Certificates of Matriculation. The Small Certificate is not a certificate of Matriculation into Trinity College. It is given after a private examination, generally to men who are going abroad, as colleges abroad are glad to accept this certificate of Matriculation.

Since the controversy over Mr. Bryce's scheme, by the great and successful effort of Mr. Birrell, the National University and the University of Belfast have been established ; but Trinity College remains apart as it was. What Trinity College has been in the past will be told in the following pages. And people will naturally ask : should it not do more for Ireland in the future ?

DANIEL COGHLAN.



CHAPTER I.  
(INTRODUCTORY.)

## The Two Ideals.

It is curious to observe how history repeats itself on every occasion that the Government shows a disposition to legislate for the redress of Irish grievances where Catholics mainly are concerned. There is not one of the great measures of liberation—the Emancipation Act, the Tithes Act, the Land Acts, the Labourers' Acts, the Local Government Act—that has not been opposed by the great body of Irish Episcopalian Protestants, lay and clerical. Yet, once passed, all admit the substantial justice of these measures. And now that the Liberal Government has signified its intention of making another great attempt to remedy the ills of Ireland, a double campaign has been inaugurated—one against the University proposals and the other against the Devolution scheme of the Government.

I am not going to write on the Devolution scheme. But I venture to offer you some remarks on the education controversy, which, altogether irrespective of the scheme outlined by Mr. Bryce, may not be uninteresting or uninteresting to your readers.

The Trinity opponents of the scheme outlined by Mr. Bryce are no less opposed to what is called the Two-College Scheme—that is, the establishment within the University of Dublin of a second College, a College for Catholics, co-ordinate with Trinity College. They argue that it is impossible to associate in the same University Colleges of such different “educational ideals” as Trinity College and a College for Catholics. Dean Bernard put the case in this way before the Commission:—“As Dr. Tarleton has pointed out, there are two ideals of education which are very well understood. One I may call, for shortness, the ‘liberal’ ideal, according to which all research and investigation should be free. It is not necessarily an irreligious ideal at all, but is quite distinct from the ‘ultra-montane’ ideal, which demands that at every point investigation should be checked by the ecclesiastical authorities. Those are inconsistent and incompatible ideals, and any attempt to combine them in one institution would only breed confusion and disaster, not to speak of friction.”\*

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\*Appendix to Final Report q. 355.

Mr. E. J. Gwynn, speaking of the demand for a Catholic College, puts the difference between a College with a "Catholic tinge" and Trinity College in this way:—"The demand implies that teachers and pupils tacitly agree to accept certain guiding principles and a certain body of dogmatic beliefs, and that the influence of these beliefs shall always be felt, both in what is said and in what is left unsaid. This means an intellectual atmosphere very different from that of Trinity College. . . . One does not presuppose on either side one definite attitude of mind, or one special set of religious beliefs."\*

These are difficulties which have been urged before, and will be urged again, not only against Mr. Bryce's scheme, but also against the endowment in any shape or form of a University College with a "Catholic tinge." Hence, it behoves Catholics to study this aspect of the case. Mr. E. J. Gwynn says: "It is not for the Protestant to attempt to describe this (the Catholic) ideal fully." I am sure it will not suffer by being described by a Catholic; and hence I venture to submit a comparative study of the two ideals.

## § I.

### THE CATHOLIC IDEAL,

Do Catholics recognise behind University education the guiding influence of a body of dogmatic beliefs? Do they believe that investigation must be checked, at every point, by ecclesiastical authority? To what extent are Catholic professors free in the prosecution of scientific research? Are they free to publish their researches and to teach what they believe true? These are, I think, all, or nearly all, the questions that arise in connection with the "Catholic Ideal."

1. Now, first, Catholics all, lay and clerical, proclaim from the housetops this faith—that they do recognise, behind University teaching, the guiding influence of dogmatic beliefs. They accept all the truths of the Christian creeds. Divine Revelation, they believe, contains absolute, unchangeable truth, and between the truths of Revelation and scientific truth there can be no opposition. Is belief in the existence of God opposed to scientific truth or to scientific research? Or belief in the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity? Or belief in the Incarnation and Redemption? Or belief in the Church and in the Sacramental System? To a Catholic, it is unthinkable, psychologically impossible, to deny the existence of God, or the Trinity, or the Incarnation and Redemption, in the class-hall, and then go to worship this

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\* Appendix to First Report, p. 52.

non-existent Deity in the College Chapel. Moreover, a Catholic believes that his faith indirectly serves his scientific researches; because, believing antecedently that faith and reason can never come into conflict, he will not be disposed to waste his time or energy, say, in a futile effort to disprove the existence of God, or to refute the doctrine of the Trinity, or to question such doctrines as the Incarnation and Redemption.

2. Behind dogmatic beliefs Catholics recognise also ecclesiastical authority; but this puts no additional restraint on intellectual freedom; it is only the question of the constitution of the Church. The theory is intellectually unacceptable to Catholics, that God revealed a body of truths to the world and appointed no living authority to unfold, to teach, and to safeguard that body of Divine truths. It appears to the Catholic mind a theory as unworthy of God and as disastrous in its results in the Christian world as if the civil legislature contented itself with enacting laws, and allowed each individual citizen to interpret and apply these laws for himself. Catholics believe in a Divinely appointed teaching body in the spiritual Kingdom, the Bishops of the Church under the Viceroy of Christ on earth, the Bishop of Rome. But the existence of episcopal authority does not extend the range of intellectual control. Does the existence of judges and magistrates extend the range of our civil laws? Are they not rather a living authority to interpret and apply the laws? And so it is with our Bishops in relation to intellectual freedom. Their authority to control intellectual work is correlative with, and arises from, their authority to teach supernatural revealed truths. If you have divine authority to teach the existence of God, the Trinity, the Incarnation, etc., have you not authority and a duty to proscribe for your flock the speculations of philosophers or scientists incompatible with these beliefs? But this adds nothing to the restraining range of the beliefs themselves; for if you believe in the truths of religion—if you believe, for example, in God, in the creation of the world, in Divine Providence, from philosophical reasoning, or from your private reading of the Scriptures, or on the authority of the ministers of your Church or Congregation—you surely must reject as untrue all theories that are opposed to these truths.

3. If we understand science, as it is defined in modern times, to be "The observation and classification, or co-ordination of the individual facts or phenomena of nature," a Catholic professor is absolutely free, as free as a free-thinker, in the prosecution of scientific research. There is no prohibition or restriction in regard to the observation and co-



ordination of the phenomena of nature. What limit, for example, does the Catholic discipline set to the work of a geologist or astronomer? None; except that he must not deny the original creation of matter and Divine Providence; but admitting creation and Divine Providence, he may adopt what theory he pleases about the subsequent evolution of the world, such as we see it. What limit does it set to the work of a biologist? None; except that he must not deny a Creator, nor Divine Providence, nor the existence of a spiritual soul in man, nor the possibility, in the case of the Incarnation, of a virgin conception and birth; he may defend spontaneous generation, as the old scholastics did, when speaking of the lower forms of life. And so with the other sciences. But it is very hard to keep scientists to science as defined by themselves. They will propound philosophic theories which are not warranted by their experimental work. One will maintain as a "scientific" truth that there is no God, or that His existence is unknowable; another, that the world has not been created; another will deny, in the name of "science," the existence of the soul and of immortality; another will deny the possibility of divine supernatural revelation. It is needless to point out that these denials are not warranted by scientific methods or by scientific conclusions. They are opposed to the truths of faith, and of necessity are condemned by the Church. But, again, the measure of control insisted on by Catholics in relation to science, is simply the range of meaning of the revealed truths; I might say, of the truths professed by all Christians.

4. If we except books dealing professedly with faith and morals, the Catholic lay professor, like Protestant professors, is free to publish a book on any subject, without permission from or reference to any ecclesiastical superior. And, again, if we understand science as it is understood in modern times, as experimental science, the Catholic professor is under no restriction in teaching.

## § 2.

### THE PROTESTANT IDEAL.

Do Protestants recognise behind University education the guiding and moderating influence of religious beliefs? Do they defend the right of episcopal control or vigilance over University teaching? The "Trinity Ideal" is a very different conception when it is designed to prove that a new College for Catholics, co-ordinate with Trinity College, cannot be established within the University of Dublin, and when it is formulated to prove that Catholics can enter and receive their education in Trinity College, as it is, with-



out prejudice to their faith or morals. It is interesting to consider what Dean Bernard calls the "Liberal Ideal" in both its forms.

## I.

When arguing against the establishment of a College for Catholics in Dublin University, all the Trinity men, I believe, insist that since the Fawcett Act, liberal education shall no longer be under the control or restraint of any body of dogmas; above all, that it shall not be subject to any ecclesiastical restraint, and that professors shall be subject to no dogmatic control in their teaching or writings. The following questions of the Chief Baron to the Provost, and the latter's answers are interesting:—

57. You would not allow—the Chief Baron asks\*—one of your professors to teach his class Atheism?—We never would ask the question—the Provost answers—unless it were brought under our notice in a most extraordinary way.

58. But if it were brought under your notice?—What do you mean by Atheism?

59. That there is no God?—If he did that as against religion *he* might be interfered with: but if he meant that investigation in physics and so forth led him to that conclusion, we would not interfere with him.

And I think the following questions of the Chief Baron to Dean Bernard, and the latter's answers, will be deemed not less interesting:—

387. Do you think—the Chief Baron asks†—it would be inconsistent with Fawcett's Act to reprove a Professor for teaching doctrines that involve atheism or agnosticism?—I am sure—answers the Dean—it would be reprov'd in fact by the Board; whether they would be acting legally or not if they attempted to dismiss a Professor for so doing is a question I should prefer to leave to the lawyers.

388. Lord Chief Baron—I am putting as the ground of the rebuke, that he taught anti-Christian doctrine, for instance, atheism, agnosticism, the denial of the Divinity of Christ, perhaps the denial of the inspiration of the Scriptures?—I am entirely satisfied—answers the Dean—that the Board would not interfere in reference to the last two subjects you mentioned.

Dean Bernard holds‡ that a University ought to be a place of religion. Mr. E. J. Gwynn says that Trinity should be,

\*Appendix to Final Report, qq. 57-59.

†Ibid, qq. 387-8.

as it always has been, a place of religion and learning. But what is meant by "religion"? As far as I can gather from the context of these witnesses it always means "religious exercises" in chapel. But the Provost says that a professor of physics is free to tell his students that, as a result of his scientific investigations, he is satisfied there is no God. Suppose his class accept his views, what about the religion? Is there one belief in the chapel and another in the class-room? Having disposed of God in the class-room, will the Professor and students go to the chapel and pray "Our Father, which art (not) in heaven, hallowed be Thy name," etc.? And Dean Bernard says the Board would not interfere with Professors for denying the Divinity of Christ and the inspiration of the Scriptures. But if these may be denied with impunity, what remains of the foundations of Protestantism? And how can a dignitary of a Christian Church call such a system an "ideal" system of education? With what consistency can Episcopalian Protestants demand denominational primary education in England if the truths of religion have no absolute binding force, if they may be repudiated at pleasure and with impunity by the adult educated mind?

It is unintelligible why Episcopalian Protestant laymen, deans and bishops, maintain that University teaching should be free from the guiding and restraining influence of Christian dogma, of such truths, say, as the existence of God, the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation and Redemption, the inspiration of Scripture; why they claim for University professors the right to combat the fundamental truths of Christianity before a class of Christian students; why they deny to their bishops all right of supervision of University work. And though they claim for University professors the right to teach atheism or agnosticism to their classes, yet Dean Bernard is "sure it would be reprov'd in fact by the Board;" but he is entirely satisfied that the Board would not interfere in reference to the denial of the Divinity of Christ or of the inspiration of the Scriptures. I am sure very many Protestants will be shocked when they study the Trinity Ideal—an apotheosis of pagan principles—and read the answers given by their spokesmen before the Trinity Commission. In this and in many other respects those Protestants, who value above all things else Christian truths and Christian principles, model their lives and the guardianship and education of their children much more on Catholic than on Protestant ideals.

## II.

Having declared for an "Ideal Theory," which is in reality an un-Christian theory, while there was question of

excluding a College for Catholics from Dublin University, the defenders of Trinity throw over their "Ideal" when there is a question of trying to attract Catholics into Trinity College. This "Ideal" is supposed to be, in its every feature, different from the "Catholic Ideal"; to recognise no body of dogmatic truths; above all, to recognise no ecclesiastical authority. What security then, it may be asked, does Trinity offer for the faith of Catholic students? They are prepared, Mr. Gwynn says,\* to supply "the positive requirement," a chapel and Dean of Residence, if the clergy co-operate. "As to the negative requirements, it has already been pointed out that Trinity College provides a double guarantee—the guarantee of College opinion and the guarantee of the Statutes." So, after all, this illiberal, ultramontane, unscientific "ideal" of ours holds the field in Trinity! The Professors must teach nothing which can offend the susceptibilities of Catholics; that is, they must teach nothing which contradicts Catholic dogmas, guarded by the ecclesiastical authority. But if it be in accordance with a healthy University ideal to accept, in this stealthy way, the control of Catholic dogma, how can it be opposed to a strict University ideal that, in a Catholic College, the Professors and Students should accept, openly and above board, the guidance of the same doctrines and the same ecclesiastical hierarchy?

### § 3.

#### THE CAUSE OF DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL IDEALS: ANOMALOUS AND INCONSISTENT POSITION OF EPISCOPALIAN PROTESTANTS.

##### I.

If we try to investigate the cause of different ideals in the matter of education, we find the reason to be that while people generally agree in remote common principles, they differ about the less remote, the less common, the more specific principles, by which the actions of men are directed. All naturally desire that the principles which they hold sacred and inviolable—if they have any fixed inviolable principles—shall be respected in the University; and if these principles are not respected in the University, they either will not send their sons to the University at all, or they will send them there under protest and from necessity. In pagan Rome public education would naturally have been in harmony with the national religion. While the national religion remained a living force, an accepted principle, the pagan parent would

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\* Appendix to First Report, p. 56, n. 18,

naturally object to the substitution of Christian (which he considered superstitious) for pagan ideals ; nor would he have considered himself to be acting " illiberally " or to be violating the law of " the liberal ideal," if he insisted that the education of his son should be in accordance with his own ideal, the pagan ideal, and not with the ideals of others. Professor Haeckel, the great champion of agnostic-evolution, would banish, if he could, Christian and theistic teaching from the State schools, and would substitute an education based on the principles of monism—that there is no God, that there has been no creation, that there is neither spiritual soul, nor free will, nor immortality ; and I am sure that in advocating the imparting of instruction according to agnostic principles, to the exclusion of Christian teaching, in the State schools, he never for a moment fancied that he was sinning against the great commandment of " the liberal ideal." Again, I am sure I am not exaggerating when I say that if the State became Socialist, if the principles of Socialism were accepted by the community, public education would be in accordance with Socialist principles ; nor would Socialists consider themselves to be departing from the " liberal ideal " if they insisted that the education of their sons should be modeled on the Socialist, and not on the Christian ideal. Rationalists, no doubt, would deny to revealed religion the right of moderating the teaching given in a Rationalist University, and would flatter themselves that they, too, were following the light of " the liberal ideal." And why, then, I ask, are Catholics, and they alone, to be assailed with charges of illiberality and obscurantism and opposition to freedom of scientific research, if they put forward the modest demand that in the higher education of their sons their religious principles shall be respected? Why should Catholics not insist on having—it is a right conceded to pagans, to atheists, to agnostics, to rationalists—a system of higher education in accordance with their Christian principles?

## II.

When we find people generally striving for a system of higher education for their sons which is in harmony with their views on religion, it appears unintelligible why Irish Episcopalian Protestants, lay and clerical, who profess themselves Christians, have thought fit to inscribe on their educational banner, not the Christian motto, but the motto of rationalist or pagan educationalists. It is hard to understand why they have so ostentatiously proclaimed and paraded as their own—not from necessity, not as a workable

arrangement which might be tolerated in a country of different creeds, but as their "ideal"—a system of education under which their sons and daughters can be taught lawfully that the fundamental truths of Christianity and of natural religion are false ; under which the Divinity of Christ and the inspiration of Scripture can be lawfully denied, and atheism or agnosticism can be lawfully taught. Do Episcopalian Protestants really believe in the divine existence, and in the Divinity of Christ and the inspiration of Scripture, as absolute and immutable truths of the understanding? And if they believe in them as absolute truths revealed by God, how can they legitimately approve of a system, as "a Christian ideal," under which the truths revealed by God can be discredited lawfully and combated before their sons and daughters by University Professors? It would not have diminished, I am sure, the number of students in Trinity College by one, and it would have been much more creditable to the Trinity authorities as Christians, if they had resisted this spurious liberalism and had insisted on the insertion among their statutes of a rule like the following : It shall not be lawful for professors or lecturers to call into question before their classes any of the doctrines contained in the ancient creeds of Christendom.

Protestants, if true to their Christian religious profession, would range themselves under the same standard as Catholics in the struggle for a Christian system of education. The Catholic rule does not require that religious instruction form a part of the obligatory course of lectures in the secular schools of a University. It requires that nothing shall be taught in them contrary to the Christian religion. Historical and theological differences about subjects which belong to the divinity schools separate Protestants from Catholics ; but Protestants, no less than Catholics, profess to accept and defend all the great dogmas which are supposed in modern times, but without a real foundation in fact, to create difficulties in the departments of natural science and philosophy. Old difficulties against the divine existence or its demonstrability, against the dogma of creation, against the human soul, against the supernatural generally, against interference with natural law by miracles, have been dressed up in a new garb and urged by a certain school of scientists principally from the discoveries of geology and paleontology, of biology, of astronomy, of comparative anatomy and physiology. But Protestants, no less than Catholics, profess to believe in God, in the creation, in the soul, in the Incarnation, in the possibility of miracles ; and maintain that there can be no conflict between the true conclusions of science and the



dogmas of the Christian religion, understood in their true sense. But, it will be objected, there remains—does there not?—the difficulty about episcopal authority. But do not Episcopalian Protestants admit some episcopal authority? They say they do; nevertheless, Protestants, and even Episcopalian Protestants, look with suspicion and fear on the recognition of episcopal authority within a University. Thus the Provost of Trinity College, in reply to the Chief Baron, while opposed to the theory of unrestricted licence to professors to teach whatever they please, would assign to the Governing Body of the College, and not to ecclesiastical authority, the right of determining the proper limits to be set to professorial teaching.

60. Would you allow him—asks the Chief Baron—to teach anti-Christian doctrine?—I do not think—replies the Provost—a Professor in a secular subject would be allowed to make a crusade in religious matters. I might mention that one Professor had to be rebuked for interfering in religious matters with a class on a secular subject.

61. You would not allow him to teach any doctrine that was contrary to law—that boycotting was lawful, for example?—I cannot imagine—replies the Provost—any of our Professors doing such a thing at all.

62. That brings me to this: There must be some limitation?—Theoretically, if you like.

63. If there is to be a limitation, who is to decide whether the limitation has been exceeded?—A body of laymen.

64. There must be some body to decide?—I would object altogether to any ecclesiastical authority dictating inside this or any College of a University what the secular teaching was to be.

“If there is to be a limitation, there must be some body to decide,” is true inside and outside the University. To Catholics it is the same inside the University and outside it. In doubts about faith the episcopate is the power to decide. This does not mean that bishops are to determine what the secular teaching of a University is to be, but to determine if a particular line of teaching is opposed to Christian faith or morals. And so, as I have already explained, the limitation from episcopal authority adds nothing to the limiting power of the dogmas of faith themselves; for if such dogmas, for example, as the existence of God, the creation, Divine Providence, the Incarnation, are admitted—whether presented by Church authority or accepted from the private reading of the Bible—the believer cannot be an atheist, or an agnostic, or a naturalist in science. And though episcopal authority



were not legally recognised in a College or University, the College could be frequented by Catholics, provided it was so governed that there would be no reasonable ground for apprehending danger to their faith or morals.

### III.

Another curious feature of the extraordinary anomaly, "the Trinity ideal," is this, that while "the ideal" claims unlimited freedom in speculation and teaching for the Professors and Lecturers, the Professors and Lecturers themselves, with a delightful inconsistency, rather approve the Catholic rule that University lectures and teaching should be kept in check by the guiding and restraining influence of Christianity. Mr. Culverwell says, very reasonably, in reply to a question from Mr. Kelleher :\*—

781. Observe—you may take from anywhere in the world a Professor of mathematics. You ask simply how much he knows. You do not ask him what the bent of his opinions is when you put him down to teach mathematics. You can take him from one end of the world and put him into a position at the other end in any University. But it is entirely different when you go to such subjects as ethics, philosophy and, perhaps history. It is perfectly obvious that you could not take a Professor who has been brought up in the Buddhist philosophy and put him down to teach philosophy here. Philosophy is so closely connected with life that it is impossible that it should not touch either directly or indirectly on another matter also most closely connected with life, and that is religion. And therefore practically, Fawcett's Act is necessarily violated† in reference to philosophy, because, whether you have an explicit test or not on taking office, you must have an implicit test in reference to philosophy, and I should point out that in that, the only portion of our scheme in which Fawcett's Act is technically violated, Dean Bernard himself gives up his objection. He says that it would be "quite consistent with the spirit of Fawcett's Act, although, perhaps, inconsistent with its letter," "to appoint Roman Catholic Professors of history and philosophy whose lectures Roman Catholic students might have no scruple in attending."

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\*Appendix to Final Report, q. 781.

†In the scheme for widening the Constitution of Trinity College submitted to the Commission by Mr. Culverwell and others (Appendix to First Report, pp. 23-4).

Mr. Culverwell fully approves the Catholic position as described by the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer before the Robertson Commission, in the following words (q. 2753):—"I believe the late Professor Huxley was an eminent biologist. If he was teaching biology he might teach it all his life, as long as he confined himself to biology. But if he gave his Lay Sermons to the students, and went on to show the impossibility of Revealed Religion and the impossibility of the Supernatural, then I would stop him." Commenting on this statement, Mr. Culverwell writes:\*

All Trinity College lecturers would welcome such an exposition of their rights and their duties, provided the words are used in their plain meaning, and that the lecturer would not be stopped unless he did go on to show the impossibility of Revealed Religion.

In regard to Tutorial Lectures I would go somewhat beyond what Bishop O'Dwyer says, especially in the Freshmen years. In cases where the Visitors were satisfied that without explicitly attacking the doctrines of a particular Church, a lecturer yet taught in such a way as to undermine the faith of the students attending him, I think it would be the duty of the College to arrange that students of that Church were not required to attend that lecture.

Similarly, Professor Joly accepts the view that Professors in Trinity College should teach nothing contrary to Christian doctrine.

Q. 852. This being in the nature of a Christian College, would you consider—asked the Chief Baron—that it was within the right and duty of a Professor to teach anything contrary to Christian doctrine?—No. I do not think—answers Professor Joly—a Professor should ever go out of his way, and leave the subjects which are committed to his charge, to make any attack or cast any aspersion upon the credibility of the Holy Scriptures, but I think that a Professor should be unhampered in his lectures, so long as he confines himself to the facts and the received theories of his science.

853. Undoubtedly. But you do not think that a Professor ought to teach anything contrary to Christianity?—No; nothing in the nature of an attack on Christianity.

855. I would like to refer you to the terms upon which the Professors in the Queen's Colleges hold office. They are mentioned on p. 41 of the Robertson Report. Every Professor on entering into office signs the following declaration:

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\*Ibid p. 47.

"I, A.B., do hereby promise to the President and Council of Queen's College that I will faithfully and to the best of my ability discharge the duties of Professor of . . . in said College, and I further promise and engage that in lecturing and examining, and in the performance of all other duties connected with my Chair, I will carefully abstain from teaching or advancing any doctrine or making any statement derogatory to the truths of Revealed Religion or injurious or disrespectful to the religious convictions of any portion of my class or audience." Would you have any objection to signing a declaration of that nature?—Not the slightest objection, certainly not, subject to what I have already stated. Some people imply by Christianity a wider scope of belief than others.

But yet Professor Joly cannot accept the Catholic ideal. He fears it is the same as in the days of Galileo. He quotes elsewhere the words of the Bishop of Limerick: "I would let him (Huxley) go on as long as his science did not come in contact with revelation. . . . It is only when scientific men begin to philosophise, when they give up science and become philosophers, that a difficulty exists"; from which he draws the extraordinary inference that in the Catholic system scientists are not allowed to think. "They are, in short," he says, "not to think!"\*

Now, I am sure I may take it for granted that Professor Joly has devoted very little study to the case of Galileo. It is a subject on which a good deal has been written by sectarian, prejudiced, and superficial critics of the Catholic Church. Yet the case illustrates a general principle of the ethics of political and intellectual, as well as religious speculation and activity. To all who believed that the Parliamentary Union of Great Britain and Ireland is indispensable to the stability of the Empire, the new departure of Mr. Gladstone in favour of Home Rule was regarded as wicked in the extreme; no chastisement would have been considered by them too severe for his disruptive project; they would have committed him, if they could, to a much more severe and humiliating prison than was the prison of Galileo. If this view of his policy had been taken by the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, and if no convincing or probable justification had been offered for the new departure in politics, the action of Mr. Gladstone would have been considered wantonly disturbing and provoking, and most reprehensible. And so it is in the case of all great reform movements. When a particular policy has been in peaceful possession for an indefinite period it comes

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\*Appendix to Final Report, p. 356.

to be regarded as a national principle, as essential to the life of the nation, as intangible ; and agitation against it is regarded as vexatious, if not immoral, unless it be justified by convincing arguments. Now, Galileo began to advocate, against an immemorial tradition, the heliocentric theory, as the world knows, without satisfactory arguments. The traditional theory had come to be regarded as associated with faith. The new theory was received with disfavour as much by Protestants as by Catholics. It was creating uneasiness and disturbance in the department of conscience. Galileo was forbidden to advocate his theory ; but he was officially informed that he might continue his investigations with a view to discover arguments which would justify his theory. He disobeyed and was punished ; but his condemnation left him still free to continue his studies with a view to arriving at a satisfactory demonstration of his thesis. The whole controversy illustrates the ethical principle, that the intellect has its restraints, as well as the will and the affections ; that new philosophical theories—even in the matter of science—which may cause trouble to consciences, should be advanced with care and caution, and at most as hypotheses, if they are yet undemonstrated, and never as real scientific conclusions unless they are accompanied by satisfactory evidence.

Here the ethical view fits admirably, identically, with the true scientific method. For if we follow the true scientific method we shall not begin by propounding unverified theories ; we shall begin by examining individual facts or individual phenomena ; and we shall keep our conclusions or theories in strict proportion with our discoveries.

Professor Joly is surely wrong in supposing it to be a legitimate inference from Dr. O'Dwyer's evidence, that scientists are, in short, "not to think!" The answers of the Bishop were directed, not to express an opinion as to whether a limit should be put to "thinking," but to determine the limit, if any, which his Lordship thought should be put to "teaching." These are very different things. Professor Joly himself would not claim for a University Professor the right of "teaching" his class all the speculations of his own "thinking." The Bishop's meaning clearly is this : Scientists do not always confine themselves to science, as defined by themselves. They will philosophise. Then the difficulty arises—may they teach, without restriction, their philosophical speculations to their class. If Professor Huxley "was teaching biology he might teach it all his life, as long as he confined himself to biology ; but if he gave his Lay Sermons to the students, and went on to show the im-

possibility of revealed religion and the impossibility of the supernatural, I would stop him."

Professor Joly is a Professor of Geology and Minerology. His method of working is, I have no doubt, the true scientific method of observing, comparing, making hypotheses, testing his hypotheses, and thus arriving at formulating useful theories if not at scientific conclusions. May I suggest to him to follow the same method in investigating the nature of the Catholic discipline in regard to scientific work. Let him study the history of a Catholic Biologist, like Pasteur; or, as he himself is a Geologist, let him observe some Catholic Geologist and Minerologist at his investigations and in his writings. Let him take, if he will, M. De Lapparent, of the *Institut Catholique* of Paris, as the subject of his study. I think he will find that Professor De Lapparent, a loyal son of the Catholic Church, compares favourably in the exercise of freedom of research with the Professors of Geology in Protestant institutions, and that his work and his fame compare not unfavourably with the geological and minerological work and fame of Trinity College, Dublin. And he will find, too, that it is not ecclesiastical authority that hampers in this country the freedom and facilities for scientific research for Catholic scientists, but the advocates of "the liberal ideal," who oppose every solution of the Catholic difficulty in the matter of Higher Education, except the solution proceeds along the line of "the Protestant Ideal."

## CHAPTER II.

# The Revenues of Trinity College.

THE Provost of Trinity College submitted to the Trinity Commission, at the request of the Commissioners, four "Returns" dealing with the revenues of the College and their application. The Commissioners referred these Returns to Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., Chartered Accountants, and asked them to prepare, amongst other things, a detailed audit of the accounts of income and expenditure for the year 1905. As your readers may be interested to know what the income of Trinity College was for the year ending 31st October, 1905, I will briefly set it forth from the report of the Chartered Accountants, together with the provision made for indemnity against loss through the operation of the Land Laws.

### § I.

#### THE INCOME OF TRINITY COLLEGE FOR YEAR ENDING 31ST OCTOBER, 1905.

"The total income of the College," says the Auditors' Report,\* "consists of four parts, as under:—

- "(1) The receipts of the College on general account which come into the hands of the Bursar. These are set out in Return (1)." This Return is printed in the Appendix to First Report, p.9.  
The receipts for 1905 were ... .. £76,360 18 5
- "(2) The receipts from Trust Funds applicable to special purposes. The income of these funds for the year 1904-5 is given in Supplementary Return (2) and amounts in total to ... .. 5,077 7 10
- "(3) So much of the receipts of the Junior Bursar as is distributed by him direct to the Junior Fellows and others. Of the fees received from Students, slightly more than one-half is handed over by the Junior Bursar to the Bursar and appears as a receipt in the general accounts of the College under the head

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\* Appendix to Final Report, p. 490.



of Fees in Arts. The remainder, amounting in 1904-5, to £9,760 5s. 9d., does not appear." Hence we must add these payments made directly by Junior Bursar to the Junior Fellows, which do not appear in the accounts...	9,760 5 9
"(4) The receipts of the Provost from certain landed property. The total of these for the year 1904-5 is given in Return (5) as...	1,787 5 0

This reaches the enormous total of... .. £92,985 17 0

In addition a sum of £369 4s. 8d. is paid to the King's Professors of Medicine in Trinity out of the estate of Sir Patrick Dun; and neither this sum nor the fees paid to these Professors by the students appear in the accounts of Trinity College (Appendix to Final Report, qq. 1806-7, and p. 459).

Again, the students who attend the post-graduate medical course during the summer months pay £12 12s. each for the course, with rooms and maintenance; and the Provost says that last year twenty-three doctors followed this course.

It would be, however—I need scarcely observe—a very grave error to conclude from this statement that Trinity College is in receipt of ninety-three thousand pounds annually from the State. The income, according to the statement just quoted, consists of four parts. The second part, which in 1905 reached the sum of £5,077 7s. 10d., represents receipts from Trust Funds, and must be distinguished from State income. The third part, which amounted to £9,760 5s. 9d. in 1905, represents the portion of the students' fees which is distributed directly by the Junior Bursar to the Junior Fellows; and this, manifestly, is not State income. The fourth part is the income from the Provost's Estate, which, evidently, must be reckoned as State income. And the first part, "the receipts of the College on general account which come into the hands of the Bursar," which in 1905 amounted to £76,360 18s. 5d., is not all State income, but is derived from several sources, as is evident from the following detailed statement in Return (i), Table V. (Appendix to First Report).

(From) ESTATES.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Old Crown ... ..	34,817	6	4			
Old Private ... ..	3,114	19	11			
Baldwin ... ..	1,835	15	4			
City ... ..	3,631	16	10			
	<hr/>			43,399	18	5

(From) INVESTMENTS).			
Dividends and Interest on Investments ... ..	9,024	11	5
Interest on Current Account, Balance in Bank ... ..	76	19	6
	<hr/>		
		9,101	10 11
DEGREE FEES... ..	<hr/>		
		3,935	2 6
PAYMENTS BY STUDENTS.			
Fees in Arts ... ..	10,154	4	0
Medical School and Dissecting Room Fees... ..	3,169	4	6
Engineering School Fees... ..	479	0	6
Indian Civil Service Class Fees	81	7	6
Army Class Fees... ..	320	0	0
Fines... ..	96	16	6
Miscellaneous Payments... ..	57	3	7
Chamber Rents... ..	2,127	19	1
	<hr/>		
		16,485	15 8
REGISTRAR OF CHAMBERS' FEES ... ..			
	<hr/>		
		51	15 0
DUBLIN UNIVERSITY CALENDAR ... ..			
	<hr/>		
		63	14 10
Miscellaneous Receipts ... ..	<hr/>		
		34	1 1
ACHATES AND SEAL ... ..	<hr/>		
		73	17 4
INCOME TAX.			
Refunded by Revenue Office..	679	19	8
Deducted from Payments ... ..	2,320	14	9
	<hr/>		
		3,000	14 5
	<hr/>		
		76,146	10 2
Decrease of Liability during year of Dublin University Press Series ... ..			
	<hr/>		
		214	8 3
<i>Real Total income from "the receipts of the College on general account which came into the hands of the Bursar" ... ..</i>			
	<hr/>		
		76,360	18 5

To arrive at the public income of Trinity College we must distinguish, in this Table, the income from public and the income from private sources. If we add to the income from public sources the income from the Provost's estate we shall have the State income of Trinity College. I have thought it better to give this Table in detail, as I am not an expert at finance, and may possibly assign to public income what

should be regarded as income from private sources. The income from public sources will be found under the following Headings; but whether all the revenue received under these Headings is State income I must leave to the judgment of experts.

	£	s.	d.
Estates... ..	43,399	18	5
Dividends and Interests on Investments	9,024	11	5
Chamber Rents ... ..	2,127	19	1
Achates and Seal ... ..	73	17	4
Receipts from Provost's Estate ... ..	1,787	5	0

## § 2.

### INDEMNITY AGAINST LOSS UNDER LAND PURCHASE ACTS.

The College is, moreover, protected from loss through the operation of the Land Purchase Acts. The Irish Land Act of 1903 provides that the sum of five thousand pounds be paid annually to the public trustee to indemnify Trinity College against loss of income from the operation of the Land Purchase Acts. I quote from "The Irish Land Act, 1903. Explained"\* (pp, 100) :—

39—(1) There shall be paid to the public trustee out of the Ireland Development Grant, subject to the provisions of the last preceding section, the sum of five thousand pounds per annum for the account of Trinity College, Dublin.

(2) The said sum shall be applied by the public trustee in indemnifying the College against loss of income arising from the redemption under the Land Purchase Acts of any superior interest owned by the College.

(3) Any portion of the said sum of five thousand pounds which in any year is not required to make good loss of income to the College, and any accrued interest thereon, shall be invested by the public trustee, and may be applied in any subsequent year to make good future loss.

Thus the College is protected from the danger of loss through the working of the Land Purchase Acts, and its rental from its city estate is rising by the falling in of old leases. "The rise in the city estate rental in 1905," the auditors say, "is due to the falling in of leases in Westland Row and Lincoln Place, and the consequent inclusion of the rack rentals of these properties." I hope that our represen-

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\*The Irish Land Act, 1903, Explained. By John George Fottrell and Frank Fottrell.

tatives in Parliament will not lose sight of these annual sums of five thousand pounds that are accumulating and of the interest accruing thereon.

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People are literally astonished at the income of Trinity College. Very few, even within Trinity College, knew, prior to the Commission, that the income is as great as it is. Everyone will ask—What is being done for this income? What is being done for science? What is being done for Ireland? Catholics will naturally ask—Where did this revenue come from, and is it not enough for Episcopalian Protestants to have a College richly endowed, in part, from the confiscated estates of Catholics and their suppressed monasteries, without watching to thwart every effort, to wreck every proposal, in turn, which is made by English statesmen to redress the Catholic grievances in the matter of education?

### CHAPTER III.

## The Governing Body of Trinity College and of the University of Dublin.

It will be instructive to study the "liberal ideal" in the constitution of the Governing Body to which the intellectual fortune of Trinity College and the expenditure of its vast income are entrusted. There are three bodies who are concerned in the government of Trinity College—the Senate, the Council, and the Board. I will deal briefly with each, beginning with the Senate.

#### § 1.

##### THE SENATE.

The Senate is considered a University and not a Collegiate Body, and yet the regulations and conditions for registration, which is necessary for membership of the Senate, are made by the Provost and Senior Fellows of the College. Who constitute the Senate? What are its powers, and in what departments of University or Collegiate action is its approval required? When and by whom is it convoked?

1. The Senate—the Provost says (q. 183)—is a convocation "of the past graduates living in and near Dublin. There are about 400 members of the Senate. A man, by paying a certain sum of money—I think it is £4 10s.—becomes a life member of the Senate." Membership is not confined *de jure* to graduates living in or near Dublin, as appears from the answers of other Trinity men.

1145. How is the Senate formed—asks Dr. Douglas Hyde—what is the qualification for membership?—The Senate—replies Professor Joly—consists of all graduates holding the degree of M.A., who register their names by the payment of a certain fee.

1146. I am an M.A., but I am not on the Senate?—You have to register your name and pay a small fee, I believe £4 10s.

1147. Is it limited to people resident in Dublin?—I think not,

1149. Dr. Jackson—Any man who holds certain degrees in the University is entitled to register his name as a member of the Senate?—(Mr. Gwynn)—Yes.

1150. On payment of a certain fee?—Yes; I am not certain whether you keep your name on the Senate by a payment once for all, or whether it is an annual payment.

1151. . . . (*The Chairman read a passage from the second volume of the University Statutes, page 138, as to fees payable for registration on the Senate, either by an annual payment of £2, or by a single life payment.*)

The evidence given about the composition of the Senate seems somewhat uncertain and inaccurate. Membership is not confined to Masters of Arts. The number of Senators given in the University Calendar, 1906-7, is 457. There are Doctors in Divinity, Doctors in Laws, Doctors in Medicine, Doctors in Science, Doctors in Literature, Doctors in Music, Masters in Arts, Masters in Surgery, and a Master in Engineering. And the composition of the Senate is described as follows\* :—

It is among other things enacted that the Senate of the University of Dublin shall, as heretofore, consist of the Chancellor or, in his absence, the Vice-Chancellor, or Pro-Vice-Chancellor for the time being, and of such Doctors and Masters of Arts of the University as shall have and keep their names on the Books of Trinity College, in accordance with such regulations and conditions as the Provost and Senior Fellows of the said College shall enact."

Then follow the regulations made by the Provost and Senior Fellows.

2. What are the powers of the Senate? What sort of exercises or enactments require its approval? According to the evidence given before the Commission the Senate has no authority within Trinity College. It has the right of nominating four members of the Academic Council; and in this way, indirectly, it has some influence. "The Senate," the Provost says, "has no power except in conferring degrees; they cannot even discuss a question unless it comes from the Board." They have not the power of passing, but only of vetoing degrees, and that is about the whole of their power. The Degrees are actually conferred by the Chancellor, or Vice-Chancellor, with Senate. If any new legislation is proposed affecting degrees, as, for instance, if it is proposed to give a degree in a new subject, the consent of the Senate must be obtained (qq. 551-4). But it has no

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\*University Calendar, Vol. 1, p. 21.



power in reality to do anything for the real benefit of the College or University: it is a University Senate only in name (qq. 1060-70).

3. By whom is the Senate convoked? The Senate is convened by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor on a requisition presented to him by the Board, that is the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College. It can only be called together on the motion of the Board (q. 2452). It has no self-convening power (q. 940). "The meetings of the Senate," adds Mr. Justice Madden, "are not attended, as a rule, except by a few members who take a special interest in the business to be done, unless great interest has been aroused in some question, as in the case of Women's Degrees, when the advocates on the one side and on the other interest their friends in the matter, and get them to attend" (q. 2451).

## § 2.

### THE COUNCIL.

The Council consists of the Provost, or in his absence the Vice-Provost, and sixteen members of the Senate, elected as follows: Four by the Senior Fellows, four by the Junior Fellows, four by the Professors who are not Fellows, and four by the Senate, under certain limitations. The Council nominates to all Professorships, except the Professorships in the Divinity School, and those Professorships nomination to which is vested in some other body by Act of Parliament or by the directions of private founders. The Council has no governing power. And though it nominates to the Professorships, the nomination requires the confirmation of the Board.

184. . . . Then the Council—the Provost says—have no governing power; the Council have the election of those Professors who are Arts Professors, and they are not restricted to that, but they have the election of the Regius Professor of Physics and the Regius Professor of Surgery.

185. But even that requires confirmation by the Board?—Everything requires confirmation by the Board.

186. So practically everything rests with the Board?—Yes, but the Board have never interfered with the election of Professors by the Council.

The Calendar here differs somewhat from the Provost. It says: "In the event of the said Provost and Senior Fellows refusing their approval to the nomination of the Council, the Chancellor decides whether the grounds for such refusal are

sufficient. If they appear to him to be insufficient, he declares the person nominated by the Council to be duly elected."\*

The Rev. T. T. Gray, S.F.T.C.D., taunts those Fellows and Professors, who proposed the widening of the Constitution of Trinity College, and the appointment of Roman Catholics as such on the Governing Body, with the reproach of never having elected a Catholic to represent them on the Council, though they could have done so.

3938. . . . Our present rule is—says the Rev. Mr. Gray—that the seven Senior Fellows may elect any four men to represent them on the Council, provided only they are members of the Senate, and for that reason, taking the seven Senior Fellows, and keeping one's eye upon the question of religion, they have always from the very start elected a Roman Catholic on the Council—always. . . . And I may point out, as we have a number of statements here signed by Junior Fellows and by Professors, that it was in the power of the Junior Fellows to put Roman Catholics or members of any other religious denomination on the Council, and they did not do so. They are crying out now to make Roman Catholics, simply because they are Roman Catholics, members of the Governing Body, but they never themselves put them on the Council when it was in their power to do so. The Professors never yet put a Roman Catholic on the Council—never—and yet they cry out in the same way, and sign the same statements. And, stranger still, the whole body of the Senate, outside the seven Senior Fellows, the Junior Fellows and Professors, have never put a Roman Catholic on the Council.

### § 3.

#### THE BOARD.

As the Board then is, in reality, the Governing Body in Trinity College, Catholics will naturally study with keen interest the intellectual virtues of the "liberal ideal," as manifested in the constitution of the Board of Trinity College. I will deal separately with the constitution of the Board and with the salaries of its members.

#### I.

The Board of Trinity College is constituted of the Provost and the seven Senior Fellows. The Fellows are divided into Senior and Junior. The seven who have held their

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\*The University Calendar, vol. i., p. 3.

Fellowship for the longest time, and who, with the Provost, constitute the Board, are the Senior Fellows, and the remaining twenty-five are the Junior Fellows. Hence, the Junior Fellows are not necessarily young men; they may be advanced in years, and many have been Fellows for a considerable time. How are the Senior Fellows appointed? What are their qualifications? What their ages? What their duties?

1. The Senior Fellows are promoted to the Board by co-option. In College usage one speaks of the *election* of Junior and of the *co-option* of Senior Fellows. Whenever a vacancy occurs on the Board the senior of the Junior Fellows is co-opted to fill the vacant place.

2. What are the qualifications for co-option on the Board? Be it remembered that the Board is the sole and supreme Governing Body in Trinity College, charged with the higher education of the students, the development of learning, the administration of the College finances, etc. Then one is astonished to learn that the sole qualification for this most onerous responsibility is seniority among the Junior Fellows, or, I might say, old age. "The one who comes in order of seniority," the Provost says, "is not, of necessity, the most competent man" (q. 152).

3. What is the average age of the Senior Fellows? I will quote again from the Provost's evidence:—

152. . . . The average age of the present members of the Board is seventy-two; but as the ages of the Junior Fellows at the top of the list do not differ much from the ages of the younger members of the Board, in ten years the average age of the Board, if constituted as at present, would be fully seventy-six, so it is obvious that the Governing Body should be reformed, from the mere consideration of age. I look forward to a dangerous state of affairs if things are allowed to continue as they are, and, therefore, in my opinion, something must be done.

This system of appointing to the Board by co-opting automatically the senior of the Junior Fellows, irrespective of his fitness or unfitness for administrative work, irrespective of age, and in spite of the fact that more capable men might be appointed, if some system of election existed, does not appear to have recommended itself to the judgment of the Commissioners.

3998. Is it not rather a striking illustration—the Chairman asks—of not having an elective system that such a man as Dr. Salmon had never been on the Governing Body of Trinity College until he became Provost?—Theoretically,

that is quite true—replies Rev. Mr. Gray, Senior Fellow—but as a matter of practice, though he was not on the Governing Body, as he admits himself in that statement, he never made a suggestion which was not adopted.

3999. No doubt; but still there is a man of enormous weight kept out, simply because he was not yet old enough to get on?—I beg your pardon; it was because he had resigned his Fellowship. It was open to him to accept the Regius Professorship or to reject it.

4000. But, in point of fact, he never did get on until he became Provost?—He never did get on until he became Provost, but that was owing to the fact of his accepting the Regius Professorship. The Regius Professorship, of course, is the best paid in the place; it is worth £1,200 a year. He accepted that.

4004. What would you think of handing over the Government of the Empire to the seven oldest men in it?—It depends upon who they were.

But, unfortunately, in the case of Trinity College, co-option on the Board does not depend on who the co-opted are, or on their capacity for governing, or even on their general academic merits, but solely on the fact of their age, or, more accurately, of their seniority among Junior Fellows.

Formerly Junior Fellows used to rise frequently to the position of Senior Fellows while yet very young men. Fellowships were then confined to clergymen, who were bound, in Trinity, by the law of celibacy. And as the Fellows not infrequently preferred marriage to the Fellowship, this led to earlier vacancies in the ranks of the Senior Fellows. Again, before the disestablishment of the Protestant Church, there were a number of valuable livings at the disposal of Trinity College. These were offered to the Fellows in turn, and were frequently accepted by them. Thus, Senior Fellows were constantly leaving, and Junior Fellows not infrequently became members of the Board at a comparatively early age (qq. 152, 2445, 4782-6). But since the abolition of the law of celibacy and the disestablishment of the Protestant Church, the Senior Fellows keep a firm grip of their holding, and this leaves Trinity College with a Board of venerable and distinguished, but worn-out old men, whose average age is seventy-two years.

4. What are the duties of the Board? Besides attendance at meetings of the Board and the general charge of the government of the College, the following offices are held by Senior Fellows: Vice-Provost, Auditor, Senior Proctor,

Senior Dean, Senior Lecturer, Bursar, Registrar. Five of these offices—the Provost says—are sinecures.

193. Lord Chief Baron.—You mentioned that there were certain sinecure offices; what are the offices which you consider sinecures?—Well, you see—replies the Provost—the Senior Dean, under the old statutes, was supposed to work effectively, and the discipline of the place was in his hands; but after a time practically it was left to the Junior Dean, and what the Senior Dean has to do is to come on Saturday mornings and go over the list of fines, and say whether such fines are proper. That is the Senior Dean's business, and as a matter of fact anyone could do that, instead of having a man retired at £1,100 a year. In the same way, the Catechist now has a very light duty, because we supply catechetical instruction, but have made it non-compulsory, just as I have put an end to compulsory chapels on week-days for students, although the chapel is open for them if they choose to go. . . . The work that is done by the Catechist could be done quite easily by a clerk. . . . Then the Senior Proctor, Dr. Abbott, has to bring forward the degrees and see that no man gets a degree unless he qualifies. . . . The Librarian.

194. Is there any other besides these four offices you have mentioned which you consider sinecures?—Well, the Board objected to my calling it a sinecure yesterday, but the Vice-Provost has nothing to do, as such, except in the absence of the Provost.

Besides the work of the offices just described, the ordinary work of the Board at their weekly meetings, the Provost says, consists mostly :—

152. . . . in deciding questions of administration, appeals, fines, money grants to the various professional schools for assistants, or for apparatus, and grants for the many laboratories now at work in the College, and there are also other questions relating to the administration of the estates. So far as the time of the Governing Body is taken up with administrative work, questions of the estates come in occasionally, and sometimes very large questions turn up, such as would be better dealt with by a larger and wider governing body, but at present every Saturday's work is taken up with pure questions of administration.

## II.

The salaries of the members of the Board are made up of several items. I give the salaries for the year ending 31st



October, 1905. Payments were made to the Provost under the following heads:—

	£	s.	d.
Provost... ..	738	9	4
Compensation for Renewal Fines ... ..	800	0	0
Decrements ... ..	161	15	0
Achates and Seal... ..	9	10	8
Allowance for a Porter ... ..	42	0	0
Provost's Estate... ..	1,787	5	0
<b>Total Net Income... ..</b>	<b>3,539</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

Payments were made to the Vice-Provost under the following heads:—

	£	s.	d.
Vice-Provost ... ..	369	4	8
Compensation... ..	800	0	0
Senior Fellow... ..	92	6	4
Decrements ... ..	161	15	0
Achates and Seal ... ..	9	10	8
<b>Total Net Income ... ..</b>	<b>1,432</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>

The remaining salaries were: £1,263 12s., £1,391 7s., £1,372, £1,495 2s, £1,576 4s, £1,386 14. These salaries were paid in part as remuneration for the particular offices—mostly sinecure—held by the Senior Fellows, and in part under the titles of “Compensation for Renewal Fines,” “Decrements,” and “Achates and Seal.” What, it may be asked, is meant by “Compensation for Renewal Fines”? What by “Decrements”? What by “Achates and Seal”?

The Senior Fellows receive each £800 annually in “Compensation for Renewal Fines.” The origin of this item was explained to the Commission by the Provost; and it shows Trinity College in the past to have been a perfect adept and model in the worst arts of Irish landlordism.

204. Dr. Jackson—I should like to ask one or two questions which, I think, follow naturally upon the answers you have just been giving. I am asking for information. “Compensation,” you said, was compensation for renewal fines?—Yes; that is a very old story, which goes back to more than half a century ago.

205. May I just add a word, because I think I know what “renewal fines” means—what I wanted to ask you was: How were the fines disposed of before these compensations; were they used in the payment of the Provost and Senior Fellows?—Yes; I understand what they did was this: The leases were for twenty-one years; if those leases had run out



the lessees who held them would lose them, and they would become the property of the College. What they preferred was, every year to pay a renewal fine, and so keep the twenty-one years' lease up constantly. At that time the individual members of the Board got either the renewal fines or ran the lease out, and dealt with it then as part of the College property that had fallen in. Then the Queen's Letter came in, and compensated the Senior Fellows by a definite figure of £800 a year.

2. What is meant by "Decrements"? By "decrements" is meant the part of the fees of the students which the Senior Fellows always get. The Senior Fellows get their share of the fees, "so as to keep them, I suppose," the Provost says, "up to the diligent discharge of their duties." Of the *Entrance Fee* of £15, £4 10s. goes to "fees to College," £4 4s. to Decrements, and £6 6s. to the Tutorial Fund. And of the *Annual Payments* of £16 16s., made by the students, half goes to Decrements and half to Tutorial Fund.

3. Under the heading of Receipts for 1905, in the report of the Chartered Accountants, we find "Achates and Seal, £73 7s. 4d." The whole is divided among the Senior Fellows. The Chartered Accountants give the following not very illuminating explanation of the expression: "Achates and Seal—This is a percentage of the rents received, which is distributed amongst the Senior Fellows."

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*       \*       \*

The Board, then, of Trinity College, consists of the Provost and the seven Junior Fellows. The average age of the present members of the Board is seventy-two years. They are all Episcopalian Protestants.

## CHAPTER IV.

# The Junior Fellows and Professors.

THE representatives of Trinity College declared it impossible, in their evidence before the Trinity College Commission, to associate in the same University Colleges ruled by such different and opposing ideals as the Catholic and Protestant ideals of higher education. The Protestant ideal—so they represented—requires absolute freedom with regard to science, philosophy, and history, whether for discussion or research, and that no ecclesiastical authority shall interfere with scientific investigation ; while the Catholic ideal, as they understand it, demands that scientific investigation and teaching and writing shall accept the guidance of a body of dogmas, and shall be subject at every turn to the interference of ecclesiastical authority. They objected strongly to the establishment of a College for Catholics in Dublin University, and protested against the unfairness of giving the prestige of their degree, with its associations of a broad and liberal education, to students educated in a college where liberal education would be rendered impossible under the illiberal ultramontane ideal of dogma and ecclesiastical authority.

I have already shown that there ought to be little or no contention between Catholics and Protestants about ideals of education. For Catholics and Protestants alike profess all those religious doctrines which are supposed, though erroneously, to interfere with the free cultivation of the physical sciences.

Passing from the abstract speculative comparison of the Catholic and Protestant ideals to the consideration of the actual concrete system of education in Trinity College I purpose now to describe, from the evidence given before the recent Commission, the “ Liberal Ideal ” of higher education as it realises itself in the teaching staff, the Junior Fellows and the Professors of Trinity College.

The Provost, Fellows, and Scholars constitute *the Corporation* of Trinity College ; the Scholars being, as it were, minors who, though a part of the Collegiate family, are not entitled to participation in Corporate acts. The Provost and Senior Fellows, as I have described, constitute *the Board*. But the non-Fellow Professors are neither members of the Corporation nor of the Board of Trinity College. However, I associate them in this chapter with the Junior

Fellows ; and consequently this chapter will deal with the two orders of teachers, the Junior Fellows and the Professors, and, on account of the close connection of the subjects, with the teaching equipment of the different Faculties.

## § I.

### THE JUNIOR FELLOWS.

We should naturally expect, I think, that the "Liberal Ideal" in Trinity College would reveal its love for the sciences, and its intellectual liberality and excellence, if it had any, in the academic requirements for Fellowship, in the formation of its Junior Fellows, in the method of their election, and in their subsequent employment. What, then, are the subjects to which Fellowships are attached? What is the character of the Fellowship Examination? Must the best man be appointed? What is the intellectual life of Junior Fellows like? What are the salaries of the Junior Fellows?

## I.

### THE SUBJECTS TO WHICH FELLOWSHIPS ARE ATTACHED.

The "Liberal Ideal," we are told, stands for unrestricted freedom in the study of Physical Science and Modern History. But does Trinity College mark its appreciation of these studies by giving Fellowships in Physical Science and in Modern History? Dean Bernard told the Commission that in the "Modern University," which would suit Irish Catholics there might be a Chair of Brewing, but there would not be a Chair of Arabic. Very well ; but then does Trinity College give a Fellowship on Oriental Languages? Does it give a Fellowship on Economic and Social Studies? Can a Fellowship be won on Modern Languages? Is there a Fellowship in the Irish Language and Literature and Irish History? There is no Fellowship in Physical Science ; none in Modern History ; none in Oriental Languages ; none in Economic and Social Studies ; none in Modern Languages ; none in Irish Language or History. A Fellowship can be won only on knowledge of Classics or Mathematics, with certain secondary subjects. I will quote from the evidence of the Provost :—

Q. 170. As I understand—the Chairman asked—a man cannot now get a Fellowship in the University and College without showing skill both in Greek and Latin, and in Mathematics ; am I right in that?—Oh, no ; the Classics and Mathematics are separate ; they are either Classical or Mathematical Fellowships ; but the combination generally

is that a Mathematical candidate either takes Metaphysics or Experimental Science in addition, while a Classical candidate takes Metaphysics and Hebrew as his extra subjects.

171. But cannot a man become a Fellow merely upon his knowledge of Mathematics, and, say, Physics?—Mathematics and Experimental Physics will give him a Fellowship.

172. Can he on Modern Languages?—No, and it is a subject which it would be very difficult to introduce, because it is a very easy examination, and you cannot make it difficult, like Classics.

173. Can he in History?—Well, of course, in the Classical Department a great deal of history comes in, but it is mostly ancient history, naturally.

174. Therefore, roughly speaking, a man must be either a Mathematician or a Classical Scholar?—Yes, that is the present system.

175. And a pure Physicist can never become a Fellow—or a pure Chemist would, perhaps, be a better case?—A pure Chemist, no.

176. Or a pure Physiologist?—No.

And Mr. E. J. Gwynn, questioned by the Chairman, replied as follows :—

Q. 1003. Are not the subjects for Fellowships—asks the Chairman—very much, too much, confined at present?—Yes, certainly; in fact, we have come lately to something like an impasse. To take a single instance, when we made French an alternative subject to Greek, we found ourselves without sufficient expert teaching in that subject, and at present there is no provision for securing that tutorial teachers in Arts shall know anything about French. As a matter of fact, some teaching is being given by men who have no paper qualification on the subject at all.

## II.

### THE JUNIOR FELLOWSHIP EXAMINATION.

Does the Fellowship Examination contribute to or promote liberal education? With scarcely a dissentient voice the witnesses before the Commission bore testimony to the fact that preparation for the Fellowship Examination consumes, on an average, seven of the best years of intellectual life; that during those years the candidates are making no progress whatever in scholarship properly so-called, but only acquiring knowledge of books and of the peculiarity of the examiners; that the examination affords no test of capacity

for original work, or of fitness for teaching ; that the successful candidate has no further incentive to devote himself to a life of literary or scientific work, promotion coming automatically with age.

The Right Honourable Mr. Justice Madden says :—

Q. 2454. It has, I am sure, been brought under your notice that an average period of five and a half years elapses between the period of the degree examination and the election of a successful candidate for Fellowship. But I do not know whether you quite realise what that means. It means that not only do those years elapse, but that four or five times during those years the candidate presents himself for examination ; and he does not go a step higher each time, rising from one intellectual level to a higher, but he presents himself time after time on the same intellectual level, for examination in the same class of subjects.

2455. He keeps his mind stagnant—asks the Chairman—during the whole period at the level of the Fellowship examinations?—That is what I wanted to convey.

2456. Is not that a tremendous loss, or waste of intellectual energy?—It is a tremendous waste of intellectual energy. Think of the loss of all those years ! And the curious thing about it is that in some cases . . . the more desirable the candidate was, the more difficult was it for him to obtain a Fellowship under that system.

Mr. Rogers, a Fellow of Trinity College, writes :—

The candidate, starting usually within two years of his B.A. Degree—sometimes much later—presents himself annually at a very difficult examination. His success depends not on freshness or vigour of critical or constructive thought, but on a thorough knowledge of the bookwork, together with a capacity for doing well at examinations. . . . The average number—for the past ten years—of attempts made by successful candidates is five. Anyone who hopes to succeed must be prepared to devote himself for at least five years to strenuous and persistent intellectual labour, with the main object, not of increasing the sum of human knowledge, or even of learning what has been written about those subjects which interest him, but only of passing well at an annual examination. (Appendix to First Report, p. 64.)

Professor Joly and Mr. E. J. Gwynn gave similar testimony :—

1001. (Professor Joly)—I may say that I have heard dis-

tinguished candidates for Fellowship here, who were ultimately successful, state that after the first two or three years' work, they did not think they were progressing in the acquisition of knowledge.

1002. But progressing in the art of acquiring a certain amount of knowledge to be ejected at a given date?—(Mr. Gwynn)—One gets to know the examiner's peculiarities very well.

And Mr. Brougham Leech writes :—

It is rarely that a candidate succeeds within five years of obtaining his B.A. degree. Eight and ten years are not uncommon intervals. During this time the candidate is obliged to devote himself to several subjects, one or more of which may be uncongenial. . . . During these—the best years of his life—his sole object is to acquire that kind of knowledge which will enable him to answer at an examination. He has no time to think for himself (Appendix to First Report, p. 59).

### III.

#### THE APPOINTMENT TO FELLOWSHIP AFTER EXAMINATION.

While advocating some change in the mode of appointment to Fellowships, the representatives of Trinity College were opposed to the abolition of the examination, as the atmosphere, they said, in Ireland is so charged with suspicion that otherwise the appointments might be ascribed to partisanship or sectarian favouritism ; and yet the appointments are not always made on the merits of the examination. The Provost tells us :—

Q. 220. At a recent election of a Junior Fellow the majority of the Board elected him contrary to the marks, and the Junior Fellows were very much dissatisfied. I am afraid that they would have no confidence in the selection of Fellows by the Board without examination.

### IV.

#### THE DUTIES OF JUNIOR FELLOWS : THEIR INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

Let me observe that intellectual ability is a natural gift, independent of religion ; and it is fair to suppose that intelligence of the highest order can be found among the Fellows of Trinity College. But how is this fine intelligence employed and stimulated under the " Liberal Ideal " ?



According to the Provost the spirit of research must be allowed to develop itself in the University without restriction; and a Professor, according to the "Liberal Ideal," should not be interfered with if he taught his class atheism provided he taught it as the result of his scientific investigation. According to Dean Bernard, the Board, under the "Liberal Ideal," would not interfere with a Professor for denying the divinity of Christ or the inspiration of Scripture. But under the "Liberal Ideal" there are much more unworthy restrictions or hindrances to scientific investigation; for the greater part of the time of the Junior Fellows is consumed in occupations which might, more properly, be assigned to a body of ordinary clerks. Of the twenty-five Junior Fellows eighteen are Tutors. And what are the duties of a Junior Fellow as Tutor? As a Lecturer he will have to teach a class, and hence they speak of Tutorial Lecturers and Tutorial Lectures; but as a Tutor he does not teach. Tutors receive pupils to whom they act as Guardians. Tutorage, therefore, merely means guardianship, and does not imply that the Tutors teach or assist their pupils privately at their studies. The Tutor is the person to whom the pupil is entitled to apply for advice and direction, or for help out of a difficulty. He advises his students on what examinations they are to pass, sees that their fees are paid, intercedes for them if they fail at their examinations, arranges their difficulties with the Board, writes to their parents, etc. The Tutors are divided into three grades—Senior, Middle, and Junior; and some at least of the Senior Grade Tutors receive £800 a year as tutorial fees. The effects of this system on the intellectual life of Trinity College are thus described in a Statement submitted to the Commission by Dr. Tarleton, a Senior Fellow of Trinity College:—

Intimately connected with the Fellowship System—says Dr. Tarleton—is the Tutorial System. Every Fellow, usually very soon after his election, becomes a Tutor. He has then to look after the Collegiate interest of those students who are his pupils, and various posts of an administrative character, but requiring no literary or scientific qualifications, are open to him. His income is increased by augmenting the number of his pupils and obtaining some of these posts. He is thus under a strong temptation to neglect the advanced study of the subjects with which he is acquainted. In this way the time and energies of young men fitted to become leaders in science or literature are frittered away in trivial occupations. . . . A young man who obtains a Fellowship is usually able, with scarcely any preparation, to deliver Ordj-

nary or Honour Lectures in the subjects in which he has answered for Fellowship. Scarcely any inducement is held out to him to reach higher excellence, in these subjects, and his financial position is most readily improved by devotion to occupations which might be carried on better by a shop accountant, a police constable, or a county attorney. It is not, therefore, surprising that a comparatively small number of Fellows attain a high position in the scientific and literary world, and that even in a subject examined in for Fellowship, it is not always easy to find a man entirely fitted to fill the post of a Professor in a great University. It seems, indeed, that the only merit of the Tutorial System consists in the financial arrangement of Senior, Middle and Junior Grade (Appendix to First Report, pp. 65, 66).

## V.

### SOME SPECIMENS OF THE SALARIES OF JUNIOR FELLOWS.

Mr. George Lambert Cathcart, M.A., received in 1905, a salary of £843 4s. 8d., made up almost entirely of Tutorial Fees. He received :—

	£	s.	d.
As Junior Fellow... ..	36	18	8
As Senior Tutor ... ..	800	0	0
In Examination Fees ... ..	6	6	0
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	£843	4	8

Mr. Louis Claude Purser, M.A., Litt.D., received a salary of £1,193 15s. 3d., made up of the following items :—

	£	s.	d.
Junior Fellow ... ..	36	18	8
Junior Bursar (Poundage) ... ..	371	12	4
Public Orator ... ..	25	0	0
Registrar of Chambers, Salary ... ..	55	8	0
Registrar of Chambers, Fees ... ..	51	15	0
Examination Fees in Arts ... ..	55	13	0
Payments per Junior Bursar (or Tutorial Fees)	597	8	3
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Total ... ..	£1,193	15	3

The Junior Bursar does not teach. He received, in 1905, for that tutorial occupation or distraction, which Dr. Tarleton so justly condemns, a salary of £597 8s. 3d. He receives the students' fees twice a year and collects Chamber

Rents ; and he deducts, as Junior Bursar's Poundage, "2½ per cent. on all amounts collected and handed over by him. He also retains the same poundage on the amount he distributes to the Junior Fellows."\*

I quote these figures to illustrate the methods of Trinity College. Is it not a pity to condemn brilliant scholars to these occupations? "The necessary book-keeping is very onerous," say the Chartered Accountants, "and it may be doubted whether it can be most satisfactorily carried out by a succession of brilliant scholars without clerical assistance." "The (Junior) Bursar," says the Provost (q. 211), "receives 2½ per cent. on the fees that he receives. . . . He has a great deal of work to do, and that work must be done by somebody. I would be very glad to see a clerk doing it, but it is done by the Junior Bursar, and he has to take charge of a large fund." "The duty of the Junior Bursar," says Mr. Brougham Leech (q. 3212), "is to receive the students' fees twice a year, half of which he pays over to the Senior Bursar, and the other half of which he distributes among the Junior Fellows. It is very pressing work for two or three weeks twice a year. . . . The last gentleman who took the position was a very distinguished scholar, who, as we all thought, filled the Latin Chair well. In due course he left that, and proceeded to tot up figures for a week or two twice a year, and meanwhile the Board had considerable difficulty, I believe, in filling up his place, as there was no very eminent Latinist among the Fellows."

The Rev. Ralph Westropp Roberts, B.D., received £1,016 16s. 6d. under the following heads:—

	£	s.	d.
Junior Fellow . . . . .	36	18	8
Assistant to Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity . . . . .	50	0	0
Reader in Chapel . . . . .	50	0	0
Evening Preacher . . . . .	16	0	0
Honour Lecturer in Mathematics . . . . .	30	0	0
Sermons . . . . .	6	0	0
Examination Fees in Arts . . . . .	79	16	0
Examination Fees in Divinity . . . . .	17	17	0
Examination Fees in Catecheticals . . . . .	15	15	0
Payments from Tutorial Fund . . . . .	714	9	10

I quote this case in illustration of the charge made against Trinity College that the Lecturers and Professors in the

\* Appendix to Final Report, p. 488.

College are put to teach the most disparate subjects. Just fancy, in a great University College, the same person Lecturer in Divinity and Honor Lecturer in Mathematics! And this is not a solitary case. Some of the Trinity men reply that though the University Professors may be mere specialists, the Fellows of Trinity are all-round scholars. But Fellowship, as I have shown, does not require all-round scholarship; and besides an all-round scholar should not be put to all-round teaching, to teaching subjects appertaining to different Faculties, he should be allowed to specialise.

Mr. Robert Russell, M.A., received, in 1905, £1,152 18s. 6d., under the following heads:—

	£	s.	d.
Junior Fellow ... ..	36	18	8
Juior Dean ... ..	200	0	0
Registrar of Law School ... ..	20	0	0
Donegal Lecturer, Paid out of Fund ... ..	27	13	10
Donegal Lecturer, Paid out of General Funds	42	6	2
Examination Fees in Arts ... ..	54	12	0
Examination Fees in Engineering ... ..	2	2	0
Examination Fees in Law ... ..	1	1	0
Payments per Junior Bursor (or Tutorial Fees)	768	4	10

The case of Mr. Russell furnishes an example of the pitiable waste of brilliant talent in Trinity College. The Right Honourable Mr. Justice Madden drew attention to the fact that in some cases, according to the present system of electing Fellows, the more desirable a candidate is, the more difficult it is for him to obtain a Fellowship, on account of his difficulty with the secondary subjects. And after speaking of Mr. Burnside who succeeded in getting his Fellowship only ten years after his degree examination, he continued:—

Q. 2456. . . . I think that is probably the most striking example I can give you, but there is another gentleman—and there can be no harm in my mentioning his name—Mr. Russell, a Mathematician of extraordinary ability. It took him eight years to secure his Fellowship, and he had probably the same difficulty as in the other case I have mentioned, in descending to the less important subjects.

2457. Lord Chief Baron—He is Registrar of the Law School, is he not?—Yes, I was about to mention that, and he is the best Registrar there could possibly be; but at the same time I cannot help thinking that a great mathematician is wasted upon such an office as that.

## § 2.

## THE UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS.

The Tutor-Fellows, in addition to their duties as Tutors, are Tutor-Lecturers, and lecture in the schools, but in catechetical form, as in Intermediate Schools and Colleges. Besides the Tutor Lecturers there are the University Professors, some of whom are Fellows of Trinity College, but the vast majority are not Fellows. The latter are not members of the Corporation of Trinity College. "In most cases—we read in a statement submitted by members of the Professoriate—the tenure of professorship is terminable, periodic re-election being necessary every five or seven years. The Professor possesses no means of redress should arbitrary dismissal ensue; nor has he necessarily any knowledge of an intention to dispense with his services until another has been actually appointed to the Chair. . . . Lastly, we must briefly refer to the effects of the more material disabilities of the Chairs. Several brilliant men have, within recent years, resigned their Chairs and accepted positions of more permanency and dignity elsewhere. . . . It is also a matter of knowledge that when vacancies occur, many who hold permanent posts elsewhere, and live amidst a more practical recognition of their work and distinctions, refuse to compete."\* And treating of both classes of professors, Mr. Brougham Leech writes:—

The result of the system (the Fellowship system) is that except in the rare cases, where the professorial incomes are subsidised by students' fees, it is almost impossible for Trinity College to secure an expert at all. The professorial incomes are too small to attract men of eminence in special branches of learning, and a Fellowship cannot be offered to any person, however distinguished. Hence it becomes necessary to offer Professorships to those of the Fellows—few in number—who may be deemed competent to undertake the duties. The result is that which might be expected (*ibid.*, p. 59).

## § 3.

The professors and lecturers suffer from the absence of properly organised faculties with sufficient expert teachers assigned to each subject; they are obliged to lecture on most disparate subjects. This defect is referred to by Dr. A. C. O'Sullivan in his evidence.

Q. 1976. If it were arranged, he says, that each important Chair should have its own income assigned to it, a man

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\*Appendix to First Report, pp. 25-6.

could be left to do the work of that Chair altogether. I may, perhaps, mention myself as an instance of what I mean. I lecture on Pathology and Bacteriology in the Medical School, but I have also to lecture in Classics.

1977. In Classics?—Yes, as a tutor to the Arts students. And when I leave this room to-day I shall be examining in Geometrv. One is practically obliged to do rather a bewildering number of things.

1978. It really almost implies omniscience on the part of a professor?—Yes, and the omniscience is unfortunately not there.

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*Omne ignotum pro magnifico.* It has been the fashion in Ireland with friend and foe of Trinity College to acclaim it as one of the few Irish institutions “of which we are all proud.” But the Report of the Trinity Commission has rent the veil which concealed from view the defects of Trinity College. It is an institution of which every Irishman should feel ashamed. It is the only serious argument I know against Home Rule. It has a magnificent income. It enjoys absolute autonomy. And yet it is a melancholy failure.

The Provost and the other members of the Board, as I have said, are all Protestants. The Junior Fellows, with the exception of one Catholic, are all Protestants. The Professors are all or nearly all Protestants.



## CHAPTER V.

# The Students of Trinity College.

HAVING dealt with the Income, the Board, the Fellows and Professors, I now proceed to deal with the Students of Trinity College. What is the total number of Students in Trinity College? How are they distributed according to class and creed and country? What efforts have been made, in recent times, to attract Catholic students? What, in general, is the nature and the purpose of the education given; for what country does Trinity educate? From the answers to these questions, we can see, I think, how far Dublin University and Trinity College satisfy the conditions and requirements of a National University and University College.

### § 1.

#### THE TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO ENTER TRINITY COLLEGE.

The number of students who entered Trinity College on each of the six years, 1900-1906, is given as follows in Return i. (Supplement to First Report, p. 20):—

1900-1	229
1901-2	217
1902-3	211
1903-4	279
1904-5	320
1905-6	266

In a memorandum submitted to the Provost and Fellows in October, 1904, the Rev. T. T. Gray writes:—

The average number of students who entered Trinity College during the last fifteen years—from the year ending June 12th, 1890, to June 11th, 1904—is 229; in round numbers, say, 230, the highest number being 285 in 1892, and the lowest 185 in 1903. For the last seven years the average number is exactly 208. This is not an encouraging state of affairs; and, therefore, I think that an effort should be made to induce, if possible, a larger number of our countrymen to take advantage of the education which we offer (Appendix to Final Report, p. 345).

The average number of students from Dublin, Leinster without Dublin, Ulster, Munster, Connaught, abroad, and of unknown addresses, who entered Trinity College for the six years, 1900-1 to 1905-6 inclusive is given as follows in Return V. (Appendix to First Report, p. 21):—

Dublin... ..	96
Leinster (without Dublin)... ..	28
Ulster ... ..	50
Munster... ..	26
Connaught ... ..	11
Abroad ... ..	29
Unknown ... ..	13

So that on an average during these six years more students entered Trinity College from abroad than from Leinster (without Dublin), or Munster, or Connaught.

## § 2.

### THE STUDENTS OF TRINITY, ACCORDING TO CLASS AND CREED AND COUNTRY.

Trinity College does not educate the sons of the Irish nobility, Dr. Mahaffy tells us, and it has already tapped all its sources of support. I will quote a few questions put by the Chairman and Dr. Douglas Hyde, and the answers of Dr. Mahaffy:—

2616. You think—the Chairman asks—that practically the College has tapped all its sources of support?—Exactly, unless we can reach a new stratum altogether, I think we have tapped all the available sources completely.

2754. Can you account—Dr. Douglas Hyde asks—for the fact at all of the upper classes in Ireland not sending their sons, as they ought, to Trinity College?—I do not know, because I know that very few of them go to Oxford and Cambridge; they do not seem to go anywhere.

2758. Would it be possible to tap that upper stratum at all?—Well, I should say that the partial robbery of their land would induce a good many to get their sons educated.

Farmers' sons do not go to Trinity, except in very small numbers. Of the students who enter Trinity College, by far the largest proportion are sons of professional men.

Circumstances—writes Mr. E. J. Gwynn, F.T.C.D.\*—have made Trinity College more and more a University of the professional classes. . . . The number of students we draw from the farming class is relatively small. By far the largest proportion are sons of professional men ; and their main object in coming to the University is to qualify themselves for a profession.

If we examine the lists in Trinity from the point of view of Creed, we shall find that the students are, in the main, Episcopalian Protestants. According to the Provost about ten per cent. of the students have always been Roman Catholics ; and there are more Catholics than Presbyterians and Methodists taken together.

Q. 8. There are more Roman Catholics here—the Provost says—than Presbyterians and Methodists taken together, or than all other denominations except the Church of Ireland. There have always been about ten per cent. of Roman Catholics here.

Dr. Delany, S.J., the distinguished Rector of University College, who knows the conditions of education in Ireland thoroughly and is perfectly familiar with the reasons which induce Catholic students to go to Trinity, told the Commission that one of the reasons why they go there is because the standard of the Matriculation Examination is exceedingly low.

Q. 4312. . . . That is one of the reasons that I have objected to Trinity College—that its standard of admission is absolutely null. One of the reasons that so many Catholics are on its books is simply that, having tried to pass the standard of the Royal University over and over again, and failed, they have gone in triumphantly to Trinity College.

The students are, of course, in the main, Irishmen. But while the vast majority of the nation, the Catholic majority, are left without University facilities acceptable to them as Catholics, the Trinity authorities are pushing in all directions to bring in Colonials and educate them on Irish funds.

126. The number of Colonial students—asks Dr. Coffey—is not large?—There are eleven young Boers here at present—replies the Provost. We are pushing in every direction we can to bring in Colonial students. Of course, we always

have had men from Australia and Canada. I think you will find in ten years we will have more Colonials from South Africa than Edinburgh.

### § 3.

#### EFFORTS TO ATTRACT CATHOLICS INTO TRINITY COLLEGE.

Efforts have been made in recent times, and in two quite different directions, to attract Catholic students to Trinity College.

Some of the Junior Fellows, with some of the Professors, submitted to the Commission a proposal for widening the Constitution of Trinity College, with a view to make it possible for Catholics in large numbers to enter Trinity College without provoking the disapproval of their Church. It was proposed to give Catholics immediate representation on the Governing Body ; to have dual Chairs, if necessary, in Mental and Moral Science and in History ; to make provision for the religious instruction of Catholics by clergymen of their own Church, and if the Bishops desired, to give Catholics a Chapel in Trinity College. But this proposal met with strong opposition from the friends of Trinity College. And it is evident that—though they have been declaring and urging incessantly that Trinity is open to all—the Episcopalian friends of Trinity do not want a general inrush of Catholics into Trinity College. Speaking of this proposal for widening the Constitution of Trinity College, Dean Bernard said to the Commission :—

Q. 743. Further, those who promote the scheme seem to be blind to the sources from which Trinity College is fed. Let us remember that eighty per cent. of the undergraduates of Trinity College are Church of Ireland members. They represent the Church that has stood for all that has formed around Trinity College. Are we to alienate their sympathy in the hope of conciliating those who are hostile to it? It is the most foolish of proposals.

Then efforts have been made recently to attract a larger number of Catholic students, particularly by way of bribing (the word was used by one of the Trinity witnesses before the Commission) Catholics to enter the College, even in the face of the disapproval of their ecclesiastical chiefs. I refer to the founding of new Exhibitions for the purpose of attracting Catholic students to Trinity, despite the warnings of the Heads of their Church, without any change in the Constitution of the College. This may have been meant in kindness and without advertence to all that it implies. But

to Catholics it does not appear to indicate a fine or delicate sense of principle ; it is offensive to them and irritating to try to attract their young men to Trinity College merely by dangling money prizes before their eyes, and without making any change in the constitution of the College which would make it tolerable in the eyes of their ecclesiastical chiefs. And all who are anxious that, above all other matters, loyalty to one's Church, to its advice and warnings, as well as to its prohibitions, should be sheltered from the demoralising influence of the bribe, will be glad to know that the project has proved an abject failure. This is evident from the following Questions and Replies :—

2614. A number of Scholarships—the Chairman asks Dr. Mahaffy—are open to all denominations, I understand?—Oh, yes, and there are a number of advantages given to Roman Catholics.

2615. And yet they are not largely availed of?—No.

2616. You think that practically the College has tapped all its sources of support?—Exactly, unless we can reach a new stratum altogether, I think we have tapped all the available sources completely.

2617. Lord Chief Baron—The successful candidates for these Scholarships do not appear to have been mentioned in the Calendar. Do you think we would be able to get a list of the successful candidates?—I think so, for the previous year, yes.

2618. For every year?—Yes, I think so. We have not published a list in the papers when they have been elected, because there have been the most desperate attacks made upon them when it has been found out.

2619. If you think there would be any irritation caused by giving the details, I would not ask you to do so for a moment.

2720. Dr. Gray's suggestion is that there should be no less than forty-eight new exhibitions instituted, junior and senior, and he suggests the source from which these payments should come. Do you think—asks Mr. Butcher—forty-eight new exhibitions would be too much—would it be simply offering a bribe for unprepared students?—Certainly ; you would not get any more ; it is no use. I am convinced it is no use offering these bribes.

Further on in his evidence, Dr. Mahaffy states that “ it is not infrequent to have a boy who has obtained a Nutting Scholarship writing two or three days afterwards and saying that he cannot take it. That has happened several times.”

It is evident that the Catholics of Ireland are not in a mood to accept the Nutting Scholarships as a solution of their educational grievances. They ask for a solution of the educational difficulty that can be accepted without violence to their religious principles.

#### § 4.

##### GENERAL CHARACTER AND PURPOSE OF TRINITY EDUCATION.

Mr. E. J. Gwynn told the Commission that the main object of students in coming to Trinity College is, not exactly to devote themselves to the cultivation of their minds or the prosecution of research, but to qualify for a profession ; and that Trinity is educating mainly for the use of England and the Colonies.

“Circumstances—writes Mr. Gwynn\*—have made Trinity College more and more a University of the professional classes. . . Very few men now come to Trinity College simply to amuse themselves ; and that is on the whole a gain. On the other hand, not many of our students can afford to devote themselves entirely to the cultivation of their minds or the prosecution of research, and this is certainly a loss. As the social character of the University differs in this respect from Oxford, so, on the other hand, it differs (I believe) from the Scotch Universities. The number of students we draw from the farming class is small. By far the largest proportion are sons of professional men ; and their main object in coming to the University is to qualify themselves for a profession.”

Q. 1137. It is the case, I suppose, in Ireland—asks Mr. Butcher—that most of the products of Irish education are simply for export—for the use of England or of the Empire? —I am sorry to say—replies Mr. Gwynn—that we produce mainly for export.

#### § 5.

##### THE TITLE OF TRINITY COLLEGE TO BE CONSIDERED A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

It is obvious that Trinity College is not discharging the functions of an Irish National University, if we understand by “National University” an institution which is of use to the nation and is resorted to by the nation. Dr. Douglas

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\*Appendix to First Report, p. 50.



Hyde examined the Provost of Trinity very closely on this point.

Q. 87. . . . Then—asks Dr. Douglas Hyde—you think that Trinity College satisfies all the functions of a National University?—I object to the word “National” altogether—replies the Provost. “National” is a very ambiguous expression in Ireland. Trinity College is a College which is open to the world as far as its honours, emoluments, and everything else go.

88. By the word “National” I understand a thing which is of use to the nation. Now, you cannot get over the fact that for a great series of years the University of Dublin has not been resorted to by the nation?—That is not our fault; we have done all we can to meet it.

94. You object strongly to the word “National” in the sense of a National University. “National” may be interpreted in another way, that is, a University for teaching people about the nation. Would you say that Trinity College, as it exists—

95. Chairman—I think you are getting a little far from the question. . . .

The Provost—What people in England and elsewhere ought to realise is, that there are two nations in Ireland: the sooner they realise that the better; there is not one nation in Ireland.

Dr. Douglas Hyde—And you educate for only one of them.

## CHAPTER VI.

# The Arts Course.

I COMMENCED this series of letters in the *Freeman's Journal*, not from a spirit of hostility to Trinity College, not to support this or that or the other particular proposal for the settlement of the Education Question, but to refute the claim made by Irish Protestant educationalists that their ideal alone of education is permissible in a University, and to answer the charge that the Catholic principle of authority is incompatible with the intellectual liberty and the freedom of scientific research, which are indispensable for university work properly so-called. I have already compared the Catholic and the Trinity College Ideals in a speculative or abstract manner. But the recent Commission has lifted the veil off Trinity College, and now anyone who wishes to read the Blue Books of the Commission can see for himself what "the Trinity Ideal" is in reality, what it costs, and what it does for the country. In the present Chapter I will study the "Trinity Ideal" of University Education, as it reveals itself in the Arts Course of the College.

What is University education, and what are the functions of a University? Cardinal Newman, in his *Idea of a University*, compares the "Utilitarian" and "Liberal" theories of the functions of a University, and argues that the distinctive purpose of a University is to give a "liberal" or "gentleman's" education. University education presupposes, or includes, a comprehensive course of instruction and the acquisition of wide and varied knowledge by the students; but the mere acquisition of knowledge is not distinctively University work. Knowledge is acquired in the Primary and Intermediate Schools; but in the main it is received from external sources, from books and teachers. The University student uses the instruction received as material on which to exercise the activities of his own intellect. He examines subjects for himself. Without attending lectures on all subjects he learns in the University atmosphere how far his subject is affected, if at all, by the other sciences taught in the University. He accepts conclusions, not alone because they are put before him by a professor, but because he has worked them out for himself and made them his own. His education is now "liberal," or liberated from

the necessary reliance on the authority of the teacher or of books, which is so characteristic of his earlier education. He has become, or is fast becoming, intellectually, a man. Again, the knowledge acquired scientifically in a University can be used afterwards for professional and technical purposes—by the priest to direct the art of saving souls, by the physician to direct the art of healing bodily diseases, by the engineer to direct his art, etc. But mere professional or technical training, even if given in a University institute, is not University education. It might consist of a ready stock-in-trade laid up in the memory and accepted mainly on the authority of the teacher or of books. It might be given in non-University professional or technical schools. On these points there would be little or no difference between Cardinal Newman's view and the view of the more moderate advocates of "Utilitarianism." The University, together with supplying a comprehensive course of instruction and sending out from its schools men admirably qualified for the various administrative, professional, commercial and technical positions in the country, will give to its students, as its distinctive characteristic, a truly liberal education in the sense explained. This is what Newman calls a "Gentleman's Education"; because students who will have thoroughly probed their own subjects and felt their difficulties, and who will come to realise in class, or in the debating society, or in the play-grounds, the intellectual difficulties of others—and this would apply especially to religion and philosophy—while staunchly maintaining their own views, and therefore not merely indifferentists, will naturally be led to show invariable consideration and courtesy to those who differ from them in religious or political opinions.

I will now try to investigate in this and the following chapters, how far the education given in Trinity College corresponds to the Newman ideal of University education. In the present chapter, I will quote from the evidence given in relation to the following questions:—What is the character of the Matriculation Examination in Trinity College? What is meant by Residential and Non-Residential Students? What is the duration and character of the Undergraduate Course? What is the average number who graduate B.A.?

### § I.

#### THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

Students who have passed the Intermediate Senior Grade are admitted to Trinity without entrance examination, except in subjects which they may not have presented at the Intermediate Examination. Certain entrance exhibitions are

offered to students who get honours in the Middle Grade Intermediate. But entrance for students generally is by Matriculation Examination. Some severe strictures were passed by Mr. Brougham Leech on entrance examinations.

3301. In my opinion—I have mentioned it already—the Irish schools are not as good as they ought to be. We need not go into the reasons. The education given is not so good, and I think the boys come up very badly prepared, and I think also the examination for entrance into Trinity is too easy. I can illustrate that by saying that I happen to be the examiner appointed by the Honorable Society of the King's Inns to examine students for admission as law students who are not in any University. They are examined in two or three books of Latin, a little Latin Composition, English History, and English Literature. A good many of them fail, and when they fail I recommend them to enter Trinity College or the Royal and they go down and enter Trinity College, and they can become students at once without passing any further examination: the special examination I give is a very simple and a very easy one.

I do not suggest for a moment that this represents the average education of the students at entrance. But there is a good deal of laxity at the examinations. And the presence of these backward students in a class must be a great obstacle to the efficient teaching and development and progress of the better elements of the class.

2602. But at any rate—the Chairman asks Dr. Mahaffy—there are suggestions that the standard of examination is low?—Yes; I shall not deny that there are cases of students being allowed to enter on the Small Certificate; their average is bad. They enter under protest; they must get special teaching, and if they do not pass the examination they lose their money and time, and in the great majority of cases that has turned out a satisfactory experiment.

The “Small Certificate” referred to, Dr. Mahaffy tells us, is a certificate devised for students who are not qualified to enter Trinity; who may be going abroad, perhaps, to India; who are anxious to have a certificate of Matriculation into Trinity which they can present at a College abroad, and who, therefore, present themselves for examination at Trinity and get this “Small Certificate” which will be accepted by other colleges as a certificate of Matriculation into Trinity College! But students are allowed to enter and continue their course in Trinity on the “Small Certificate,”

as is evident from the following passage in the University Calendar\* :—

“Candidates who have passed a Public Entrance Examination to the satisfaction of the Senior Lecturer are given a Large Entrance Certificate ; all other candidates, who are allowed to proceed with their course, are given a Small Certificate, which cannot be used as evidence that they have passed the Public Examination of Trinity College ; but such candidates will be given the Large Certificate as soon as they shall have passed a Term Examination.”

## § 2.

### RESIDENTIAL AND NON-RESIDENTIAL STUDENTS.

“Residential” may mean having rooms in the College, or merely attending lectures in the College ; and, similarly, “non-residential” may signify merely that a student does not reside in a College Chamber but lives at home or in lodgings, or it may mean that he does not even attend lectures in the College. It is necessary to attend to these different meanings of the word “Residential.” We may inquire, therefore, whether the Trinity students are “Residential” in the sense of attending lectures and receiving their education in Trinity College ; and again, how many Trinity men are “Residential” in the sense of having Chambers in Trinity College.

“The Royal University,” the Provost says, “does not educate its students. It is only an examining body.” But does not Dublin University give its Arts Degree to students who are not educated in Trinity College ? And speaking of those who attend lectures in the College, are not degrees given to students who attend only very few lectures ? Dublin University gives its degrees to students whom it does not educate. Students are said to have credit for a Term or to have kept the Term, if they pass the examination held in that Term (or a post-mortem), though they may have attended no lectures in the College.

According to “Return III.” the following is the number who graduated B.A., by examination alone—having attended no lectures whatever in Trinity—for the five years 1901 to 1905, inclusive :—

1901	20
1902	21
1903	21
1904	22
1905	21



Of those who attend lectures in Trinity it is impossible to learn from the Blue Books how many attend lectures continuously for the four under-graduate years, and how many keep some of the Terms by attending lectures and others merely by passing the Term examination. But Dean Bernard says:—"I am afraid it would not be practicable to require more than one Term of lectures from a great number of our men." The ordinary course lasts four years. There are three Terms in each year; and about six and a half weeks are devoted to lecturing in each Term. And so there are a great number of men in Trinity who can attend lectures only for about six and a half weeks out of the four years ordinary course. Surely, then, there are many graduates of Dublin University whom Trinity College cannot be said to have educated.

Trinity men feel the inconvenience of giving their degree to students whom they do not educate. They would wish to see the present system abolished if it were possible. It is all a question of fees. Students who get credit for terms by examination alone pay the same entrance and annual fees as if they had attended lectures. If they were not allowed to keep Terms and proceed to their degree by examination alone, Trinity would know them no more. The fees would be lost to the tutors. And so Trinity reconciles itself to the hard fate of having to give its degree to men whom it does not educate.

626. Do many—Sir Arthur Rucker asks Dean Bernard—of what, I may call, your external candidates for degrees come from a distance?—I could not tell you the exact proportions, but a much smaller number come from England, for example, than used to when I was an undergraduate.

627. But in Ireland?—A considerable number come from the country.

628. Mr. Butcher—The returns show that 40 per cent. come from County Dublin, and 20 per cent. from Ulster.

629. Sir Arthur Rucker—Then in the case of a man from the country, you would bring him up for three months?—Yes; I think the system by which a man is able to get a degree without attending any lectures, and by the result of examination alone, is not desirable.

646. Mr. Butcher—I notice that you say no student should be permitted to take a Degree who has not attended at least one full course of lectures. Would you go further, and say that in no case shall the passing of examinations be taken as a substitute for residence and attending at lectures?—I do not think that in any case the passing of examinations can compensate for the loss of the advantages which are gained

by attendance upon lectures ; but I am afraid it would not be practicable to require more than one term of lectures from a great number of our men.

Next, it is interesting to inquire how many students live in Chambers in Trinity College. On the continent, for example in Germany, there are no "Residential" colleges, in the sense that students live in the college ; and in Trinity the number who have apartments in the college is, on an average, about 250.

### § 3.

#### THE UNDERGRADUATE COURSE.

The ordinary Undergraduate Course in Arts lasts for four years. But a student can take his Degree in three years, as is proved from the following questions and answers ; from which also, to say nothing of other testimonies, one can see how the question of fees dominates everything else in Trinity College. Fees are the first consideration, and suggested schemes of reform and improvement succeed or fail according to their effect on the fees :—

2722. Another question of another sort: Is it the case—Mr. Butcher asks Dr. Mahaffy—that you can take your degree in three years, though four years is the normal period?—Yes.

2723. Now, if you take your degree in three years, have you to pay the full fees for the four years?—Certainly.

2724. Do you not think that is at all a hardship?—No. I do not think it is a hardship. It is done by a man coming in at the end of the first year, and passing the last of the examinations of the first year, and that allows him to come up into the second year.

2725. Still he has not got his equivalent in tutorial teaching for that last year?—No, he has not, but if you lower the thing, then I suppose the great majority would do it in three years, and we would lose 25 per cent. of the fees of the students.

The ordinary course, as I have said, lasts for four years. There are three terms in each year—Hilary Term, from January 10th to March 25th ; Trinity Term, from April 15th to June 30th ; and Michaelmas Term, from October 10th to December 20th. Each Term begins with an examination in the business of the preceding Term ; about three weeks and a half being devoted to these examinations, and only six and

a half weeks remaining for the lectures of the Term. There was some unfavourable criticism before the Commission of the lectures for pass students, of the excessive number of ordinary collegiate examinations, and of the Honour Examinations.

#### THE PASS LECTURES.

Miss White, Lady Principal of Alexandra College, dealing with the education of women students, who, however, attend lectures with the men students, writes :—

It is generally admitted that the tendency of the education given by Trinity College is to diminish the importance of what are termed the "Arts Studies," and to make the various professional schools all-important. . . Trinity College is unquestionably becoming more and more a professional University. . . . Arts lectures are confined to five days a week during the six weeks of each term. Two hours are given to ordinary lectures each day, one hour in mathematics or science or logic for six weeks, and one hour daily in Latin for three weeks, and one hour daily in French for the remaining three weeks, and candidates may write three Latin compositions and three French compositions during the term, and in some instances one English. The lectures seldom cover more than half the prescribed courses ; hence the necessity for coaching. . . . I maintain that for women students not entering any of the professional schools the pass B.A. examination in Arts ought to represent knowledge of, and qualification in, such subjects as form the curriculum of ordinary Intermediate and Secondary schools, and I submit that in the present size of ordinary undergraduate mixed classes (i.e., of both men and women) with wide differences in the mental attainments of the students in these classes, it is impossible to attain this end.—(Appendix to First Report, pp. 134-136).

#### THE EXAMINATIONS : THE POST-MORTEM EXAMINATIONS.

But there were more numerous and more serious complaints about the multiplicity and standard and looseness of the Term Examinations and of their tendency to assimilate the education given in Trinity, which should be University education, to the instruction given in Intermediate Schools and Colleges.

603. The next head—the Chairman says to Dean Bernard—you deal with in your paper is in regard to Ordinary Examinations. You speak in the first place of the examinations being too numerous, and not sufficiently strict, and you

object to a curious kind of system which appears to exist, called "post-mortem examinations," which I have never heard of before in that sense.

604. Lord Chief Baron—I think it is supplemental examinations?—Worse than that. The number of examinations is, I venture to think, too large, and I should hope that in future attendances upon at least one or two courses of lectures would be required of all students. . . . A very large amount of their (the Fellows) time is taken up in conducting these examinations. . . . The marks would be better if there were fewer examinations and a higher standard set ; I think you should insist upon at least forty per cent. in any subject.

605. Chairman—Have you any idea what is the standard now?—I have not myself taken part in these Term Examinations for some time, but in my time it was about thirty per cent.

606. That certainly does seem little?—There are also cases which happen often, in which a candidate has failed in some important subject—passed in the others, but failed in an important subject—and whereas in the old days he hereby lost his examination, very often now representations are made to the authorities as to the great hardship of this young man losing the whole year because he has failed in one subject, and, accordingly, a special examination is provided for him, say, a month or six weeks later. Well, I need not say that tends to lower the whole standard, because if that system continues it will get to be known that a man can get through his examination even though he has failed in an important subject.

607. Lord Chief Baron—That is quite new, is it not? It was not so in my time?—Nor in my time either.

608. Chairman—I suppose the tendency is for each tutor to try in this way to assist his own pupils?—The tutor will go to the Senior Lecturer and say: "Well, it is very hard, you have let such and such a man through: you have given him a post-mortem, and you ought to have given this other one a post-mortem." I think the system would be better if there were shorter courses, not so great a variety of subjects, and a very much higher standard insisted upon.

#### THE HONOUR EXAMINATIONS.

I find no adverse criticism of Mathematics ; but, speaking of the Honour Examinations in Classics, Mr. Brougham Leech says :—

3226. In my opinion, this system of Honour Examinations

gives rise to an immense amount of cramming, in the making up of the courses, which have to be made up very well indeed. This constant cramming and making up gives the student, in my opinion, no time to think ; he is too much devoted to the books and to finding out what is likely to be asked, and getting various tips, and so on, in Classics. He really has no time to study the language or become a scholar in the real sense of the word. . . . I make a remark in my paper that a man now could get a University scholarship without being even able to write a good piece of Latin prose, and some of my friends in the College thought that somewhat severe. But I have an illustration which indicates that I was correct—an incident which happened within the last two or three years ; that is to say, one of our scholars went up for the Indian Civil Service and got a nought—got no credit for his Latin prose. I am bound to say he succeeded in the examination, having been a good examinee and managing to drag in a considerable number of subjects ; but, as a matter of fact, he got no credit for his Latin prose—a scholar of the University of Dublin got no credit for his Latin prose composition in an Indian Civil Service examination.

#### § 4.

##### THE TOTAL NUMBER OF B.A. GRADUATES.

The following is the number of B.A. Degrees, according to "Return II.," conferred annually on men from 1900-1 to 1905-6 inclusive (I speak of Degrees conferred on men, because the number of Degrees conferred on women during two of these years does not represent the normal state of women's Degrees in the University):—

1900-1.....	170
1901-2 .....	141
1902-3 .....	155
1903-4 .....	170
1904-5 .....	149
1905-6 .....	169

This seems very small when we consider the average number at matriculation ; and also that not only Arts students but the Divinity, Medical, and Law students are obliged to take a Degree in Arts, and that these professional students are admitted to a Degree in Arts, as we shall see, on very special and favourable conditions. There were a few questions put on this subject at one of the sittings of the Commission.

2768. Do you know—Dr. Coffey asks Dr. Mahaffy—if many of those who enter the College fail to take the degree?—Oh, I think it is very hard to say “fail,” because there are a certain number who go up to the Little-go for military and other such purposes ; but of course there are a certain proportion who fail to take the degree ; the number taking the degree being less than the number who matriculate of course.

2769. But taking the average for the ten years preceding, the average of those who entered would seem to be much higher?—It is much higher. There are a certain number who fail ; a few die or go away ; a certain number get appointments or places and go away. There are a certain number that go in for military purposes. The Little-go is enough for them, and there are all the chances of life, in fact.



## CHAPTER VII.

# The Medical School.

IN treating of the "Professional Students," I will deal with their Arts or purely University education only. Hence, I do not consider it necessary to deal separately and distinctly with the Medical, Law, and Engineering Schools, as the system in Trinity is very much the same in regard to the admission of the different orders of professional students to a Degree in Arts. I will deal, however, with the Divinity School in a separate chapter.

The authorities in Trinity College pride themselves on the fact that their Graduates in Medicine are also Graduates in Arts, that their students are required to graduate B.A. before they can be admitted to the Degree of M.B. But they manage the thing cleverly, so that a student can get both degrees within five years; which is the minimum medical course even when Arts subjects are not combined with Medical subjects and when Medicine alone is studied. It will be sufficient under this heading to inquire: How are the Arts and Medical Studies co-ordinated? Where do the medical men go to practice who take their degree in Trinity College?

### § I.

#### THE CONCURRENCE, OR RATHER IDENTITY, OF ARTS AND MEDICAL STUDIES IN TRINITY COLLEGE.

The Arts course for the non-professional student in Trinity extends over four years. If a student read the ordinary Arts course and then proceeded to take a degree in Medicine his course would extend, at least, over nine years. But in Trinity, in the case of medical students, medical subjects are allowed to count as Arts subjects for the degree in Arts. For example, botany and zoology count for the degrees in Arts and Medicine. It is not that the subjects are taught twice and differently treated in the Arts School and in the Medical School. They are read only once. Both degrees are given mainly on the same subjects. And, nevertheless, the students have to pay two full sets of fees for the lectures, Arts fees and Medical fees, as if they read two separate and independent courses of Arts and Medicine.

Q. 1839. Sir Arthur Rucker—I understand that the medical students have to go through the Arts course as well as the Medical course. How far—he asks Dr. A. F. Dixon—do subjects of the Arts course coincide with those they would have to take in the Medical course?—Formerly, not at all necessarily—replies Dr. Dixon—but recently the arrangement has been completely changed. Medical students are given better courses in botany, zoology, and physics, and they are allowed to count these as a larger proportion of their Arts course than they were before.

1840. They are examined in those subjects for their Arts degree?—They count for their Arts degree.

1841. Are they examined in them again for their Medical degree?—No. They also have special courses in mechanics, to which they have to go. These are lectured in, and examined in the Arts faculty. They have to pass an examination in botany, zoology, chemistry, and physics. These are counted to them as part of the Arts course.

1842. Botany, chemistry, zoology, and physics—they are all included?—Yes.

1843. So that the work is not done twice over?—No, the examiners and lecturers are the same.

1844. In that way the two courses do very largely overlap?—Yes.

1852. Mr. Butcher—Do they pay full Arts fees?—Yes.

1853. For how many years?—For four years. The whole sum total is about £83 or £84.

1855. Sir Arthur Rucker—What additional subjects has a medical student to take that do not count in his medicine course?—In his first and second years he must attend lectures in Mechanics (including some Trigonometry), English Composition and Logics, and he is examined in these subjects and in one language, viz., French, German, Latin, or Greek. In his third and fourth years he must attend lectures on Astronomy and Ethics, and pass examinations in these subjects and in English Composition.

1885. The course of study for medical students, as you give it, was very interesting to me (remarks Mr. Butcher), because I observe that within five years, which is the minimum medical course—that is, I think, by regulation of the Medical Council—you are able to put in, not only the medical course, but also a certain number of Arts subjects, which do not naturally come into medicine—the literary subjects, one language and English?—Essay writing.

1917. Dr. Douglas Hyde—What is the meaning of lectures in English Composition—I do not notice them in the ordinary Arts course?—There are none at all for students other than

medical students, I believe. The Medical School, when these changes were being made, asked that their students should be instructed in essay-writing, which was a thing we felt our students were deficient in.

## § 2.

### THE QUESTION: WHERE DO TRINITY MEDICAL GRADUATES GO TO PRACTICE?

The substance of the evidence tendered to the Commission under this heading was that in recent times Graduates of Trinity College find it hard to get an appointment in Ireland, but that in former times, before the establishment of the present Local Government system, while the Protestant minority had a monopoly of administrative authority, medical positions were effectively barred against Catholics. Trinity men, evidently, would wish to see the appointment of doctors taken away from the popular bodies in the country.

1928. Dr. Douglas Hyde—It would be very interesting if you could make a return of the number who remain in this country, and the number who go abroad, if you could do it with any accuracy?—Except in the large towns, not many remain in this country, because, unfortunately, the Poor Law service, on which medical men depend so much, is so bad a service that one really feels justified in advising men not to go in for it.

1956. I should like to say again that the fact that there is a decrease in the number of students holding Poor Law appointments and posts throughout the country cannot be taken as a reproach to Trinity College in any sense.

1957. Chairman—There are other influences at work?—Yes.

1958. Dr. Coffey—Forty per cent. of your students come from the city and county of Dublin, and only ten per cent. from Munster, and five per cent. from Connaught?—I think it is another reason.

1959 As long as you do not get students from the other districts, do you not think that that will always be a drawback?—I am content to accept that, but one must really recognise that they are fearfully handicapped. One has only to read the newspapers to recognise that.

1961. To Dr. Douglas Hyde—In former years the number of men who got these posts was much greater than at the present time.

1962. Dr. Coffey—Was not that before the days of the present Local Government system?—It was before the appointments were put into the hands of a certain type of person.

1963. Under the former Local Government system?—I suppose it was ; but there has been a great deal of pressure brought to bear to have qualified men from another school put into these posts.

2050. Do you think—Dr. Douglas Hyde asks Dr. O'Sullivan—that a medical student graduating at Trinity College suffers any disparity, or is at any loss, in competition for a Poor Law appointment, with those educated in other institutions?—Oh, of course that is so ; he never gets one at all.

2051. I am only asking the question because it has an important bearing upon the whole facts before the Commission, because if it turns out that the medical-students educated in Trinity College are unable to stay in the land which educates them, do you not agree that there must be something very wrong in the state of affairs?—Well, I think you are going into a rather complex question now.

There is, I suppose, in these answers a mild insinuation of ecclesiastical interference. But Trinity fails to realise the temper of the country if it thinks that opposition to its graduates is created by ecclesiastical interference. There is a feeling among popular bodies, growing every day in intensity, that no Trinity graduate, Catholic or Protestant, should get any appointment from them until the education question is satisfactorily settled ; because, they say, it is Trinity that has created the educational question and it is Trinity that prevents its solution. And there is, in particular, a feeling of resentment against Catholic parents who send their sons to Trinity ; not, perhaps, on purely religious grounds, but because it looks like disloyalty to the general body. It is felt even by some who would be prepared to accept a scheme providing perfect equality for Catholics and Protestants in Trinity, that, pending an acceptable solution, no Catholic should go to Trinity. They feel that the policy of Trinity is to try to attract the sons of Catholic professional men who, Trinity men think, may be expected to assert their independence of ecclesiastical authority, and to do nothing for the masses ; and that the Catholics who are sending their sons to Trinity are co-operating in this anti-National design. Then they have before them the example of the Ascendency Party in the days of its power described by Dr. M'Weeney, in his answers to Dr. Douglas Hyde :—

2885. Dr. Douglas Hyde—Dr. O'Sullivan gave us some interesting evidence to the effect that medical students turned out by Dublin University cannot get places under the Poor Law with comfort or ease—in fact, that they do not get places at all. That, I think, does not apply to the Cecilia

medical students ; does it?—Oh, no ; the pendulum has certainly swung round now in our direction with regard to these popular appointments.

2886. And, no doubt, the knowledge that a particular student has been turned out by Cecilia Street is distinctly in his favour when the question of an appointment comes up?—Yes, certainly, that is the case now ; but for a long time it was very much against him ; such students found it almost impossible to get appointments. That was the case when I was a student myself.

2887. Do you mean to say that in the last twenty years it was nearly impossible for a Cecilia Street student to get such appointments?—Within the last twenty years a Catholic doctor could not get an appointment under the South Dublin Union, and he could not get an hospital appointment in Dublin ; save for the Mater and St. Vincent's, all the leading Dublin hospitals closed their doors to Catholic doctors ; they could not get in.

2888. In the College of Physicians is it the same?—In the College of Physicians it is the same. Catholic doctors, myself included, have been pilled or blackballed again and again by the Protestant and Trinity College “ring” which dominates the place.

2889. I wanted to ask you this. The Medical student who graduates in Cecilia Street has a very real advantage in graduating from it, because he is open for public appointments which the Trinity College student is not open to, or does not get ; is not that so?—There is no doubt whatever that the fact that a man comes from Cecilia Street is very much in his favour at the present time in all parts of Ireland, except, perhaps the North-East, and there, I think, the Belfast College men would probably have the sway.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

# The Divinity School.

The claims of the Irish Protestant Episcopal Church on the Divinity School of Trinity College were stated and defended before the Commission with very great ability by Lord Justice Fitzgibbon and Dean Bernard, on behalf of the House of Representatives of the General Synod, and by the Protestant Bishops of Killaloe and Ossory, as representing the House of Bishops. It is interesting to see the Lord Justice stepping down from the judicial bench and essaying to fill the double role of apologist of Irish Episcopalian Protestantism and advocate of the unsustainable claims which are made by his Church, in relation to the Divinity School, against the University of Dublin and Trinity College. "I believe," says the Lord Justice, "that by some we are regarded as a more or less undisciplined rabble; I know that by a great many we are regarded as a set of involuntary Non-conformists; but as a matter of fact, we are a body established by law, recognised by statute, having legal rights and obligations, and under the control of a very artificial, but at the same time, very effective, and actually working, constitutional system."

This is an admirable and adequate description of the Protestant Church in Ireland. It is a body established by the civil law. It has no authority to teach truth or proscribe error, except as derived from the Legislature. Its beliefs and its tests held sway in Trinity College while the law ordained it to be so. They were put politely outside the gates at the bidding of the Government. It advances no claim and recognises no duty, because the law does not give or impose it, to raise its voice with authority against the teaching by a professor of atheism in the College, or the denial of the inspiration of the Scriptures and of the Divinity of Christ; and while retaining the ancient creeds which it took out with it from Catholicism, it applauds as the ideal of education a system under which Christian boys can be taught, in the name of science, the very opposite to the truths of the Christian creeds.

I will deal in this chapter with the Divinity School and the general education of the Protestant Episcopal clergy; and, on account of the intimate connection of the subjects, with the relation of the Protestant Episcopate to the education and formation of its ministry, and to the University and College generally.



## § I.

## THE PROTESTANT DIVINITY STUDENTS.

Ascendency is so engrained in Irish Protestants that they naturally and spontaneously, and without a moment's suspicion that the question is even debatable, think that they themselves and their clergy are a superior race of people, and that Catholics generally and their priests are an inferior race. Catholic priests, they say, are only farmers' sons; and, to make things worse, what a pity it is, they say, that they are so uneducated! Then who are the Protestant clergy? Are they of royal descent? of princely origin? or sprung from the ancient nobility of the country? And what is the character of their education?

It is very distasteful to me to raise these personal questions. But they are suggested by the evidence given before the Commission; and it is high time to begin to meet, by retaliation, the impertinence of Episcopalian Protestants about the origin and education of Catholic priests. It is no reproach to a person to be poor. The Divinity Students in Trinity College are poor. The other professional students, if we except the Law students, pay two sets of fees, one for the Arts and the other for the Professional Course; and the Law students pay professional fees to the Benchers of the King's Inns. But the Divinity students pay only the Arts fees. Says Lord Justice FitzGibbon:—

2371. It would be perfectly impossible for us to get the same class of clergy if they had to pay two sets of fees. The general run of Irish Divinity students are poor. A large proportion of them are the sons of clergymen. Considering the modest pittance of the Irish clergy, all of whom have small livings, with a superannuation allowance of two-thirds when disabled, and having regard to the length of their families, you can estimate how far they could pay two sets of fees for their sons. And this is the class who send their sons to Trinity College for training.

Dean Bernard, therefore, was pushing the pretence of the superior caste to a ludicrous extent when (q. 481) he sought to attribute the exemption of the Divinity students from professional fees, not to their poverty, but to the historical position of Divinity in the College; from which view the Rev. T. T. Gray very formally dissented (q. 4108). And Mr. Brougham Leech—and many will agree with him—thinks it would be better for the College, for the Irish Protestant Church, and for the students themselves, if professional fees were insisted on.

3226. In my opinion—says Mr. Brougham Leech—if fees were charged in the Divinity School it would be better for the Church and the College, and, I think, better for the men themselves. We all know now that Divinity as a profession is both the easiest and cheapest profession to get into, and, therefore, a number of men drift into it who practically find themselves able to do nothing else. I think this was shown to some extent, or illustrated, by the fact that when certain commissions were offered in the army during the Boer War there was a much greater rush from the Divinity School than from any other school in the College.

It is only fair to remark that Professor Brougham Leech appears, in a part of his evidence about Trinity College, to be a somewhat hostile witness; and I have quoted his testimony in my letters only so far as it was a statement of fact, or in so far as his generalisation might be justified by the statement of fact on which it was founded.

## § 2.

### THE ARTS COURSE OF THE DIVINITY STUDENTS.

“Ninety-nine per cent. of our clergy,” the Lord Justice says, “are University men, and 84 per cent. are Trinity College men. We do not want to be self-righteous, but I believe that probably no other Episcopal Church on the face of the earth has anything like it (2258). . . . It is essential to the well-being of the Church that she should have a learned clergy, who have received a liberal education along with laymen, in the free atmosphere of a great University, who know what laymen are thinking about, who are abreast of the philosophical and scientific movements of the day, and who have learnt to tolerate and respect the religious opinions of those who differ from them. In our judgment the high culture and the open air of a University are better for our teachers than the close atmosphere of a Theological College” (2262).

In the same strain spoke all the advocates of the Divinity School. The Episcopalian Protestant Church in Ireland—said they all—has had at all times a learned clergy, a clergy educated side by side with the laity in the free atmosphere of a great University, a clergy who were abreast of the philosophical and scientific movements of the day. It illustrates the effect of atmospheres, of the atmosphere of ascendancy; how a sense of superiority (which does not exist) becomes a conviction and a force so strong that even men of the intellectual power of Lord Justice Fitzgibbon cannot release

themselves from its hold ; and how demands for a privileged position, which are absolutely unwarrantable, are urged with as much insistence and assurance and surprise that they should be even questioned, as if there were question of some rights under the Common Law. It would be well for us in these matters to walk the path of the scientific method; not to be content with general statements, devoid perhaps of foundation ; to observe facts, to compare, to test our hypotheses, and thus to arrive at legitimate conclusions. Now the Blue Books of the Commission reveal to us the facts about the Arts course and the professional education of the Irish Episcopalians in Trinity College. The full Arts course for the students generally extends over four years. But the Divinity students are allowed to commence their divinity studies after the second year at Arts. In the third and fourth years they are allowed to drop one of the Arts subjects, say, mathematics or classics, and the divinity course is counted as an Arts subject. Then if it is objected that this arrangement unduly interferes with what divinity students ought to read in Arts, you get the reply that the same regulation applies to the Medical and Law students. And, when speaking of the medical students, if you object that their course in Arts is only half an Arts course, that medical studies are counted a part of the Arts course, you are told that the same regulation applies to the divinity students. There is, however, this difference, that medical students, as we have seen, are obliged to pay two sets of fees, fees in Arts and professional fees, though the same subjects and the same lectures count for both degrees ; but divinity students are only charged fees in Arts.

283. Is a student in Divinity—the Provost is asked by Mr. Butcher—allowed to follow his Divinity course while still a student in Arts?—Yes ; a student in his third year in Arts is allowed to read in Divinity.

284. So that for one or two years he is reading concurrently in both?—Yes.

285. Is that a good arrangement?—Yes, it is a very good arrangement. A man studying for any of the professional schools can do it during part of his Arts course. That applies to all students. There is no object in the student's reading in Divinity in his first or second year unless he is a man of mature age. Any man who comes here may take up his Divinity reading in his third Arts year, and he may drop one of the courses in Arts, and the Divinity course will count as an additional one ; he may drop Mathematics or Classics. A classical man, as a rule, will drop Mathematics, and a Mathematical man will drop Classics,

286. Sir A. W. Rucker—You do not think that that unduly interferes with what the student ought to read for Arts?—No ; the same regulation also applies to medical students.

## § 3.

## THE PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION OF THE DIVINITY STUDENTS.

The Divinity Students, as we have seen, commence their Divinity studies in their third year. The remainder of their course is like a split of Divinity and Arts. They combine Arts and Divinity during the third and fourth years ; and this is the end of their undergraduate education. And what is the character of the Divinity education? It is confined for the most part to the merest elements of Theology. The representatives of the Protestant Synod held to the theory that the Divinity School is not merely the Theological Faculty of the University, but also a professional school for training the Clergy of the Protestant Church in Ireland. This was strenuously combated by other witnesses. And it appeared strange to members of the Commission that the same lectures should be made to serve the purposes of scientific theology and the pastoral training of the clergy. But the Protestant Church in Ireland is a practical body ; and so it has managed quietly to save itself the expense of a theological college by converting a University Faculty of scientific theology into a mere professional school for the Protestant Episcopalian Clergy. The Professors complain that they find it useless to address University Lectures properly so called, that is scientific theological lectures, to students beginning Divinity. Indeed they must find it impractical at any part of the course, when the course itself extends only over two years, during which Divinity and Arts are combined.

2346. I suppose—Dr. Jackson asks Dean Bernard—that they would like it [the Archbishop to be given control] largely in consequence of your Divinity School being not only a Faculty of Theology, but also an institution for the training of clergymen?—Quite. That is the reason.

2347—Is there not something to be said for keeping those two functions separate?—I think they ought to be separate, if it was possible. It is much better that they should be separate. As things are, the Professors in the Divinity School have to devote a very large part of the time which they ought to spend in research and advancing the knowledge of Theology, to teaching young men the very elements of Theology. It would be good for the Professoriate if the

two functions could be kept separate, and the reason why they are combined, I take it, is that the men who come to us are so poor that they could not afford to pay for teaching in a Theological College as well as in the University.

2348. Thank you very much for that answer. It has interested me exceedingly. Does it seem to you that the University is concerned chiefly with what you call Scientific Theology, and that the training of clergymen. . . ought to be carried on under the direction of the College rather than under the direction of the University? . . . —Broadly speaking, I think I would agree certainly with the view which you have put forward.

#### § 4.

#### THE DISCIPLINARY FORMATION OF THE DIVINITY STUDENTS.

“In our judgment,” said Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, “the high culture and the open air of a University are better for our teachers than the close atmosphere of a Theological College.” The different views which prevail about clerical education have their roots in still deeper theological differences about the nature of the clerical state. The Reformers of the sixteenth century denied that there is any distinction, by divine appointment, between clergy and laity. The distinction, they said, is merely of human origin. People found it convenient, they said, to tell off a particular class for religious functions, as we elect particular persons for parliamentary, municipal, and kindred functions. And though Anglicans retained the old doctrine of the divine institution of the clerical state, I think that, outside of ritualist circles, the vaguest views prevail among Protestants about the nature and powers and duties of the clerical state, if indeed any powers are believed by them to exist in the clerical state which are not possessed also by the laity. Hence as the life of the Protestant clergyman does not appear to differ materially from the life of the layman, it is not surprising to find that, as a discipline for divinity students, the common life of the University is preferred to the close atmosphere of a Theological College.

Well, in Trinity College the discipline for the Divinity students is not of a very severe type. A student need not declare for Divinity during the first two years. During these years, if he attends lectures at all, he frequents the secular schools in the University, where, as far as his Church is concerned, his professors may teach him atheism or deny the divinity of Christ; and he may live in the college, or at home, or in a lodginghouse, a virtuous life or



a loose life, without supervision, without training of any kind for the future life of a clergyman. Then in his third year he commences his divinity studies, combining Divinity and Arts. In his Arts classes he may still be taught that science points to atheism and to the denial of the divinity of Christ. The Bishops of his Church can exercise no authority over his theological education. He can live at home or in lodgings, where he likes, and as he likes. His Church cannot command his attendance at daily services in the chapel. The chapel itself is under the sole control of a layman, the Provost. And the only means the College has of compelling a Divinity student's presence at chapel service is by refusing him his divinity Testimonium (a certificate of having attended the Divinity lectures for two years), unless he has attended the services in the chapel.

295. Sir A. W. Rucker—Is the discipline of the Divinity students—the Provost is asked—under the Governing Body of the College, or under the Divinity School?—Under the Governing Body of the College.

296. Is it considered that it would be a proper thing, in preparing a man to be a clergyman, to require him to attend chapel?—Oh, yes, we do require him to go to chapel.

297. The College would require him?—No ; the College would not interfere, but if he did not attend chapel his testimonium would be stopped.

Dean Bernard told the Commissioners that he had always been most anxious that hostels should be provided for the Divinity students, but the College discouraged the proposal.

677. But would you think it a good plan—Dr. Douglas Hyde asks—if hostels for boys were provided?—Yes ; I have always been anxious that that should be done with regard to the Divinity students, with whom I have been concerned very much for many years. I think it is absolutely important to have some kind of hostel where they can live and be under some kind of common discipline.

678. Do you happen to know if the University has made any attempt at that?—I know that the College discouraged the proposal as regards the Divinity students.

679. Would you like to see this provision extended to other students also?—I should not object to this provision—that the men should live in licensed lodgings ; I think it is very undesirable that men should live exactly where they like.

The Rev. T. T. Gray is opposed to hostels, as residence in them would label a man "poor" (but curiously he is not opposed to Sizarships, though they require a declaration of poverty, and according to the Provost (q. 3) more than half of all the existing Fellows, senior and junior, have been sizars).



4060. . . . He (Dean Bernard) was very anxious to have a hostel for a certain class of students who are not very well off. I would object to that also. He brought before the Board a proposition that the Divinity students were men of limited means and that it would be desirable we should have hostels where they could live cheaply. That would be at once advertising a man's poverty, and I would disapprove altogether of putting a label of any kind upon a student. We are the most democratic people in the world, and so are our students ; I think it would be exceedingly unfair that men, because they were Divinity students, should be put into a particular residence, and, therefore, advertised as poor men.

### § 5.

#### THE DIVINITY LECTURES IN RELATION TO DEGREES IN DIVINITY AND TO SCIENTIFIC THEOLOGY.

One could scarcely refuse the tribute of his admiration to the dexterity with which the two clever Irishmen, Lord Justice FitzGibbon and Dean Bernard, succeeded in evading the inquisitiveness of the English Commissioners about the Divinity lectures in relation to Divinity degrees, and in leaving the question somewhat in a state of confusion.

2327. Chairman—And I suppose—he asks the Lord Justice—the lectures which lead to the Testimonium and the lectures which lead to the degree are all the same lectures?—To a degree in what?

2328. To a degree in Divinity?—The lectures that lead to the Divinity Testimonium are held in the same building, but they are no part of the curriculum for the degree. . .

2329. Sir Arthur Rucker—Then, as I understand, there may be these professional lectures under the control of a separate Governing Body?—(The Dean of St. Patrick's): There is a little confusion in the matter. Divinity degrees are given as the result, not of attendance at lectures at all, but as the result of examinations in the case of B.D., and printed theses in the case of D.D.

2330. Although the attendance at the Divinity lectures is not essential, I suppose the Divinity lectures which are given, are in preparation for the examinations?—(The Dean of St. Patrick's): I think I should like to make a short statement. . . . The Divinity Testimonium is only given to men who have attended six terms of lectures (two years) and have passed certain preliminary examinations. Now the Degrees are on a different basis. The Degree of Bachelor of Divinity is given as the result of examination.

2331. Well, a man who intends to go up for his Bachelor of Divinity usually attends the same lectures as the man who does not?—Yes.

2332. There are not two sets of lectures?—No.

The Chairman naturally thought that the Divinity lectures should be of a scientific character, intended for students preparing for Divinity degrees. But they are nothing of the kind. The lectures extend over two years of three terms each. Then a student is entitled to his Divinity Testimonium; which is a certificate of having attended Divinity lectures for two years. A student can attend the Divinity lectures and get a Testimonium or certificate for orders without going for any degree, in Arts or in Divinity. But the Divinity lectures are intended only for beginners. They lead up to a degree in Arts, to the B.A. degree, because the Divinity course is counted as an Arts subject; but they are not intended for Divinity degrees at all. At the end of the four years of the undergraduate course a Divinity student can get the degree of B.A., Divinity counting as an Arts subject. But he cannot get a Divinity degree. Three years must elapse after B.A. before a degree in Divinity can be got. There is no teaching in Trinity College for Divinity degrees. The degree of Bachelor in Divinity is given as the result of examination, and the Doctorate in Divinity is given for a printed thesis. But in both cases the preparation is made by private study. In the Divinity School of Trinity College there are no lectures for degrees in Theology, no lectures of a scientific character in Divinity.

## § 6.

### THE ACTUAL RELATION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH TO TRINITY COLLEGE.

The Protestant Episcopal Church claims no guiding influence in the Secular Schools of Trinity College. A Professor is free to teach atheism, the Provost says, if he teach it as a conclusion of science, and, according to Dean Bernard, a Professor would not be punished for denying the inspiration of Scripture and the Divinity of Christ; and the Protestant Church, its Bishops, clergy, and laity, applaud the system as the ideal system of education for Christian young men.

Even in the Divinity School the Bishops have no authority whatever in the appointment or removal of professors, nor to watch over the doctrine which is taught to their future clergy.

The appointment and removal of professors and the supervision of the doctrine taught in the school is vested exclusively in the Board of Trinity College. The professors of the Secular Schools are appointed by the Board on the nomination of the Council, but the Council has no voice in the appointment of professors to the Divinity School. Neither the Bishops of the Protestant Church nor the clergy have any authority, at present, over the chapel or religious services of Trinity College; they are subject to the exclusive authority of the lay Provost. Let me add that all professors in the Divinity School must be clergymen of the Church of Ireland in Holy Orders, who have taken test (qq. 2349-51).

649. Dr. Douglas Hyde asks Dean Bernard . . . Who appoints the Regius Professor of Divinity—is it the Council?—All the Divinity Professors are appointed by the Board; the Council has no voice whatever in the Divinity School.

650. What control has the Provost over the Chapel?—He is the immediate ordinary; that is to say, he has the order of the services under his control, and although that has worked very well, because we have had up to very recently a clergyman as Provost, and at present we have a Provost who is a staunch member of the Church, yet there is nothing in the least inherent in the position of Provost which would make him suitable for that particular duty.

2416. As the Chapel services—the Provost says—are intended for the whole body of Church of Ireland students, or for any Protestant student who may wish to attend them, I consider it essential that those services shall be under the control of the Provost, who, as a layman, will secure that they shall be characterised by that simplicity that has always been their merit. When I was a College tutor I protested, in the interest of religion quite as much as in the interests of my pupils, against compulsory attendance by the students on week-day services. . . . So when I became Provost I put an end to all this compulsion. . . . I have had occasion to make some changes in the Chapel services, but I have never done so without consulting the Regius Professor of Divinity. . . . but the ultimate authority in case of difference, say on the introduction of a High Ritual, should always remain with the Provost. In any case I would object to any curtailment of my rights in these matters.

Speaking of the Separation Law in France, M. Clemenceau once said:—"Nous sommes dans l'incohérence." The Protestant Episcopal Church seems to be *dans l'incohérence*. "We are as strictly an Episcopal Church," Lord Justice FitzGibbon says, "as any other Church on the face of the earth." Yes, a Church which accepts as revealed by God

the truths of the Apostles' Creed, and applauds a system of education under which these same revealed truths can be denied ; an Episcopal Church whose Episcopate acquiesces in the view that, though it may recommend religious beliefs and restraints to the poor, it cannot raise its voice against anti-Christian teaching in the University ; a Church which acquiesces in the claim of a lay Provost to be the ultimate authority in the matter of divine worship. "To the Bishops," says Dr. Crozier, "is given the absolute and uncontrolled choice of fit persons to serve in the ministry of the Church . it is their chief commission." And yet they accept a system under which they have no authority whatever over the intellectual or moral formation of their future clergy. They would wish, I am sure, to have their clergy trained in a hostel under some kind of common discipline, if it were done for them at the expense of Trinity College. But when it becomes a question of doing it themselves, at their own expense, they suddenly awake to the pressing demand of the "liberal idea," that the clergy and laity shall freely intermingle and share the same discipline, the same amusements, the same freedom from restraints, during their University careers.

### § 7.

#### NEW CLAIMS OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH ON TRINITY COLLEGE.

The representatives of the General Synod claimed that the Divinity School should be placed under a Council satisfactory to the Protestant Church ; moreover that it should get representation on the Board of Trinity College : and, that if ever it came to be detached from Trinity College, compensation should be made by the Government.

The Protestant Bishops have never had any control over the Divinity School, have never had a voice in the election of Divinity Professors, or in the selection of the books of the Divinity Course. The School has always been the School of Trinity College, subject only to the Board of the College. While the Fellows were clergymen the Bishops were satisfied with this arrangement. But now that tests have disappeared as a condition for Fellowship, and that the Board might become non-episcopalian or indifferent, proposals were made to have the Divinity School placed under a subordinate Governing Body or Council, acceptable to the authorities of the Protestant Church.

It would be well for Trinity College if, instead of one Academic Council, as it has at present, it had distinct Boards of Studies, or distinct and properly organised Faculties. Catholics, I am sure, would place no difficulty in the

way of the Divinity School having its own Board of Studies or Academic Council. The members of the present Academic Council are elected by the Senior and Junior Fellows, the Professors and the Senate, and they must be members of the Senate. Should the Divinity School be placed under a special Governing Body or Council, this Council itself should be subject to the Board; and the election of its members should be on academic lines in harmony with the purpose of the School. It is wholly inadmissible, considering the treatment of Catholics by successive Governments, that a completely extern body, like the Protestant Episcopate or the General Synod, should get the right of representation on a Council of Trinity College. If the Protestant Episcopate choose to spare their resources and to avail themselves for the education of their clergy of Divinity professors paid by Trinity College, they must be prepared to accept the government of Trinity College. It is rather an audacious claim to make: You have been educating our clergy gratuitously in Divinity; then you must give us the right of representation on the Governing Body of your Divinity School, that we may exercise control over the teachers and the doctrine taught in your School. And whatever be its future government the Divinity School of Trinity College should be obliged to devote itself to the cultivation of scientific theology, and should be allowed no longer to continue at work which is alien to the purpose of its institution, such as the elementary and mere professional training of the Protestant clergy. The rulers in the Irish Protestant Church have themselves already recognised that they have no legal claim against Trinity College to continue its Divinity School as a professional school for Episcopalian clergymen; for some twenty-five years ago, says Rev. T. T. Gray, the Synod put aside a sum of £50,000 to accumulate for the purpose of founding a Divinity School outside Trinity College, which sum is at present in existence (q. 4115).

Finally, I notice that the dignitaries of the Protestant Church, who criticise so freely the exclusion of the laity from doctrinal decisions and administration in the Catholic Church, are very much averse, indeed, to subjecting the teaching of the Divinity School in Trinity College to the criticism of their most representative body, the General Synod.

2355. . . . You think—Dr. Butler asks Dean Bernard—that it would be very inadvisable that the question of Academic Teaching in the Divinity School should come up as the subject of a general debate in the General Synod?—I think—replies the Dean—it would be simply deplorable and disastrous.



4045. (Mr. Gray)—The Bishops cannot object to them in fact. Bishop Crozier, whom you had before you, is a man I know very well, and I have often argued out this question with him. I was at the two Conferences that took place between the Bishops and the Board, and I said to Bishop Crozier—"Do you object to laymen?" He said—"Yes, I object to laymen," and I said to the Bishop in reply—"But who in the world elected you Bishop; you would not be Bishop if it were not for the laymen." The laymen are two to one in the election of Bishops. Even the Diocesan Board for incumbents consists of seven members, and four of them are laymen. Every clergyman in Ireland is appointed by a Board consisting of seven members, four of whom are laymen, and therefore the Bishops cannot object to laymen.

## II.

It was much more serious, however, after the abolition of tests, to claim that the Divinity School should have representation on the Board of Trinity College. For if the Divinity School got the right of representation on the Board should not its representative be an Episcopalian Protestant? Would not a portion of the Board be again elected on a test? It is interesting to read how, according to the legal mind, the right of representation on the Board of Trinity College might be given to the Divinity School without prejudice to Fawcett's Act.

2374. I would like to ask Dean Bernard—Dr. Douglas Hyde says—would it not be a difficulty in appointing some one to represent the Divinity School upon the Board of Trinity College. Would it not be a contravention of Fawcett's Act? Would it not be against that Act to have certain persons appointed to positions in the College for denominational reasons?—(Dean Bernard): You are referring to the question of the Governing Body of the College, the representation of the different faculties. I do see that there might be a difficulty in connection with Fawcett's Act, that the appointment of representatives of the Divinity School upon the Board might be a breach of it in letter, though not in spirit. (Lord Justice FitzGibbon): Pardon me a moment, the Divinity School is exempted from the Act. It does not apply to it at all.

2379. How far—asks the Chairman—would that apply to their election on the Governing Body—would that be a violation of the Act? (Dr. Douglas Hyde)—That is the point that I desired to raise—(Lord Justice FitzGibbon)—That is a very dubious question. It can be got rid of by the form of the provision for appointment.



2380. Lord Chief Baron—That is keeping up tests in one member of the Governing Body?—I don't quite understand that to be the case. (Dean Bernard)—That is the question that was put to me. Perhaps I was wrong to attempt to deal with a nice legal question.

2381. Chairman—I don't think it is proposed that the person elected should be a member of the Church of Ireland?—(Lord Justice FitzGibbon)—Oh, no ; only that the Divinity School should be represented on the Governing Body of the College. Of course, in practice the result would be that the representatives would be Churchmen.

The Divinity School was exempted from the Tests Act. Tests are maintained there still. The professors must be clergymen of the Episcopalian Protestant Church. How then could it get representation on the Governing Body, where tests are abolished? It could not get representation without a violation of the Test Act, if it were necessary to elect a Protestant Churchman. But the lawyers agreed that it would not be a violation of the Act to give the Divinity School the right of representation on the Governing Body, provided that the School was not legally bound to elect a Church representative, though it might be always depended on to elect such a representative. But then it might be asked : would it be a violation of Fawcett's Act to give Catholics, as such, the right of electing a representative on the Board, if they were not legally bound to elect a Catholic representative? Some of those who claimed representation for the Divinity School on the Board of Trinity College argued against the proposal of a similar concession to Catholics on the ground that it would be a violation of Fawcett's Act !

### III.

Next, the representatives of the General Synod argued their claim on the funds of the Divinity School.

2254. We hold—says Lord Justice FitzGibbon—that the money which has been used ever since the foundation of the College, and many times increased by King's Letter, and used wholly for that particular department of the University's work is money "enjoyed" by the members of our Church, and, by the spirit of the Church Act, is held on trust for us.

It is no wonder that the Chairman asked the Lord Justice, in astonishment, was he speaking of the general funds or of the private trusts. It is pushing it rather far to say that, because a College has been for a number of years expending, out of its own resources, a sum of money on one of its Schools, this sum of money "is held in trust" for that particular School. And under examination by Dr. Douglas Hyde the Lord Chief Justice modified the statement.

2369. The Board undoubtedly, the Lord Justice says, has a general discretion in the distribution of their funds among several Schools, including the Divinity, Law, and Medical Schools. Suppose they spent all their money on some terribly expensive School of "Science falsely so-called" without a sense of justice, the Divinity School would have a claim against them without any Commission or Act of Parliament. I would not say it could be legally enforced, but, at any rate, they would not be governing the College lawfully or properly.

Protestants do not want the Divinity School to be detached from Trinity College. But they contend that if ever it should be detached Trinity College should not be asked to compensate it, that it should be compensated by the Government as Maynooth was compensated when its endowment was withdrawn. This, I am sure, would console Episcopalian Protestants for the removal of the Divinity School from Trinity College; for they would still have the principal part in Trinity College with its endowments, and they would also have the Divinity School with its new endowment.

But the comparison with Maynooth is absolutely fallacious. We may compare Church with Church, or School with School. A Church has to provide for religious worship and for the education and maintenance of her clergy. At the Disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church Protestants received over twelve millions, while the Maynooth Grant was only £369,840. If then we compare Church with Church, Protestants have no reason to complain. Having got over twelve millions, they ought themselves to provide, out of their own funds, for the education and maintenance of their clergy; as Catholics who got the smaller sum provide for the education and maintenance of their priests.

And if we compare School with School, what do we find? The Divinity School of Trinity College has no distinctive public endowment. The endowment is the endowment of Trinity College, and is adequate to maintain all its Schools, the Divinity School included. If Trinity lost its endowment completely then perhaps each school might be entitled to compensation. But if the endowment of Trinity remain unchanged (an endowment sufficient for all its Schools), and if the Divinity School were detached, it is only natural to suppose that a part of Trinity's income should be detached also and accompany the Divinity School. Maynooth had a distinctive endowment of its own. It was completely taken from it. And it was only natural that it should get compensation. The comparison with Maynooth would be admissible if Maynooth were a corporation having under it

several distinct schools, and if its Divinity School had been detached and compensated by the State while the corporation itself continued in receipt of its former income. But it was not so, and the compensation given to Maynooth cannot be regarded as a precedent for a claim to State compensation on behalf of the Divinity School of Trinity College should it ever be detached from the College.

### § 8.

#### MAYNOOTH AND THE TRINITY DIVINITY SCHOOL.

It is impossible, at the end of this letter, to resist the temptation of making a comparison. So boldly and persistently have the ascendancy party claimed that their clergy are a superior body, and the only really educated clerical body in Ireland; so patronisingly do they speak of the Catholic priesthood and of the advantage it would be to the State if the priests were properly educated; that even some Catholics themselves have come to believe that somehow their priests are inferior to Protestant ministers from the point of view of education. Let us see how things really are from the standpoint of Arts and Professional education.

I will try to work out the comparison by taking two young students, a Catholic and a Protestant, who have passed the Senior Intermediate Grade and who go to study for Orders, one to Maynooth and the other to Trinity College. I will suppose them both to be Pass-men or both Honours-men.

The Protestant enters Trinity College, and in four years—possibly in three—will have got his B.A. and finished his theological course, having studied Divinity concurrently with Arts subjects for the last two years of his course. The Catholic student enters Maynooth, and gets his B.A. at the end of his third year, on Arts subjects alone, and before he has yet commenced his theological studies. Then, whether he is a Pass-man or an Honours-man, he studies Divinity for four years, attending lectures in Scripture, Dogmatic Theology, Moral Theology, Canon Law, Ecclesiastical History, Sacred Eloquence, with Pastoral Theology and Liturgy. Here there is no combination of Arts and Divinity. At the end of the fourth year at Theology, or the seventh from entrance, Honoursmen stand for the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity and in Canon Law. And then the Bachelors can return and read a post-graduate course, in the Dunboyne Establishment, of two years for the Licentiate, and an additional year for the Doctorate in Divinity.

Now, if by University education is meant to speak with an English accent and to be perfect at those accomplishments, by no means to be despised or undervalued, which are acquired in the drawingroom and in mixed society, I am not at all concerned to vindicate the University education of our young priests. That is not University education ; it is not education at all ; though I am afraid that some who talk of the defect of our education have no other idea of education. But if by University education we mean an education modelled on the ideal of Cardinal Newman, I think that our Maynooth clerical education need not fear comparison with the education of Protestant clergymen or of the members of any of the learned professions. It includes the ordinary University Arts education, an exceptionally good professional education, and a mental formation which enables our priests, according to the measure of their ability, to examine questions for themselves, to take a sympathetic interest in everything that concerns the country, to adapt themselves to their subsequent environment whether at home or in foreign countries, and often to give very valuable assistance in the solution of the difficult educational and social questions of the day.

Curiously enough a priest is supposed by some to be uneducated if, at the end of his Divinity course, when he has been four, perhaps six, years away from classics and mathematics, he is not able at once to take his place in an Intermediate or University College and prove himself an expert at classics or mathematics. But if this were the criterion of University education, very few professional men, very few even of the laymen who graduate in Arts could lay claim at the end of their University course to the possession of University education. The absence, therefore, of a teacher's knowledge of classics or mathematics should not be taken as proof of defective education in our young priests, who, after their Arts course, will have devoted themselves for four or six years to their professional studies.

## CHAPTER IX.

### Trinity College and Research.

"I have never," says Dean Bernard (q. 407), "seen one word in any statement put forward on behalf of the Roman Catholic authorities—I may have been unfortunate, but I have never seen one word which suggested that they considered that one of the functions of a University was the promotion of research. I have read a great deal about the advantages which would accrue to Irish life professionally from a University training, but I have never read anything about the promotion and encouragement of research. I do not think it is in the minds of those who have been agitating." Here is an admirable illustration of that peculiar Irish Episcopalian-Protestant mentality which has been evolved through the course of generations of ascendancy; a conviction that Catholics are opposed or at least indifferent to intellectual progress, and a self-satisfied, self-righteous sense that Protestants alone are solicitous for intellectual freedom and for scientific research; apparently, too, in absolute unconsciousness or oblivion of the fact that, with all the requirements for University work provided them for three hundred years, with a College munificently endowed, they themselves have done, and are doing at the present time, absolutely nothing in the way of research, that they are merely educating for the professions. Catholics can well answer that they have never got from England the necessary requirements for University work; that in asking for a University they ask for an institution where they shall have facilities for all kinds of University work; that it is no more necessary to ask, in particular, for facilities for research, than for the ordinary University undergraduate course.

But what is Trinity College doing for research? With a total income of over ninety-three thousand pounds in the year 1905 the Provost told the Commission they have no endowment for research.

321. (Chairman)—In the Arts classes was there no post-graduate course? (The Provost)—No.

322. I believe you have no endowment for it?—We have no endowment whatever for research. If you can get us an endowment we will be only too delighted to have a course of post-graduate study in Arts. . . .

323. But there is no provision made for research in the way of endowment?—No; no provision,



Nine Professors of the University submitted a statement to the Commission in which among other things, they complain of the lack of equipment and assistance for research.

For lack of proper equipment and assistance—they write\*—research has hitherto been much hampered in the several scientific departments, and in some has only been conducted in the face of grave difficulties, and by much sacrifice of labour, time, and money on the part of the Professor.

Then the Heads of the Scientific Departments in Trinity College submitted, individually, Reports on the provision for post-graduate study, and for the encouragement of research, from which I make the following quotations:—

#### BOTANY.

Up to the present—writes Mr. Henry Dixon†—the opportunities for research in the School of Botany can only be regarded as unsatisfactory. . . The instrumental equipment for research is meagre:

#### CHEMICAL SCIENCE.

In considering the facilities afforded for research by the University in the very wide department of Chemical Science—write Messrs. Young and Werner‡—it is impossible to avoid pointing out, in the first instance, that the department is very seriously handicapped in affording any facilities for research by the very limited money grant supplied by the University. . . . Moreover, the fact that the University does not give any substantial prizes in Experimental Science discourages students from taking up Experimental Research for lack of funds. . . . The want of a small library of chemical works of reference and periodicals is sadly felt.

#### GEOLOGY.

The Department of Geology and allied Sciences—reports Mr. Jolly§—possesses at the present time but one available room for research, and no proper equipment.

#### PATHOLOGY.

The provision for research in Pathology—writes Dr. A. C. O'Sullivan§—is exceedingly inadequate. . . . There are plenty of young men here able and willing to do original work ; but there is no provision to assist them to live while they are doing it. In consequence of this, most of the clever men take to grinding, with bad results to themselves and to the school.

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\*Appendix to First Report, p. 25. †Ibid, p. 32. ‡p. 33. §p. 34.



## PHYSIOLOGY.

The prosecution of research in this Department—writes Dr. W. H. Thompson\*—is hampered by the fact that a large part of the Professors' time all the year round is taken up with the actual routine of Elementary Teaching.

## SPECTROSCOPIC OR ASTROPHYSICAL WORK.

No practical spectroscopic or astrophysical work—reports Mr. Edmund T. Whittaker†—is at present carried on at the observatory (or elsewhere in the University), owing to the want of the necessary instrumental equipment.

## HISTORY : IRISH HISTORY.

Although of late—writes Mr. John Wardell‡—and after frequent remonstrances, the authorities have instituted certain minor reforms, yet I feel bound to state that the position of history as a subject of study in this University is *most* unsatisfactory. . . . It is significant of the *general* attitude of Trinity College towards historical studies that the very word "History" is omitted from the circular containing proposals for the establishment upon a proper basis of certain Chairs in the University. . . .

**With the exception of the Blake Scholarship, a private foundation, no attempt has ever been made to afford the very slightest encouragement to the study of this subject (Irish History). . . . I may be mistaken, but I believe I was the first to deliver a lecture on Irish History in Trinity College.**

With the exception of the Helen Blake Scholarship, a private foundation, no encouragement is given either to historical research or post-graduate study.

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\*p. 34. †p. 35. ‡pp. 72-3.

## CHAPTER X.

# Trinity College as an Irish University College.

Professor Magennis and Mr. Kettle, M.P., on the part of the Catholic Graduates' and Undergraduates' Association, submitted to the Commission a very admirable Memorandum, containing, among other points of criticism, some very just observations on Trinity College from the point of view "of the National life and aspirations." "The University," they say,\* "is hopelessly out of touch with the national life of the country. It was founded originally for the purposes of political proselytism and denationalisation, and has persistently and constantly carried on its mission. It has been opposed to every national movement. It is the custom of the great bulk of its professors and students, either to neglect Ireland, its history, its language, its antiquities, its problems altogether, or else to treat them from a bitterly partisan and hostile point of view. This attitude is, of course, abhorrent to the great majority of Irish Catholics; it undoubtedly creates a gulf between the work of the University and the life of the nation." I will consider Trinity College in this chapter in its relation to Irish studies, to the economic requirements of Ireland, and to the formation of national character.

### § I.

#### TRINITY COLLEGE AND IRISH STUDIES.

"This want of sympathy with Irish ideas," continues the Memorandum quoted, "has been always markedly shown by the neglect of Irish studies, art, literature, and the rest, except inasmuch as a Chair of Irish was founded for the avowed purpose of proselytism. When of late years a literary movement sprang up in the country for the fostering of Gaelic studies, literary, artistic, and philological, and for the preservation of the ancient language, when a School of Irish studies was founded by Irish enterprise, almost at its gates, where lectures were given by scholars of world-wide fame, such as Professors Strachan, Sweet, and Kuno Meyer, the attitude of Trinity College was one of complete indifference, and even at times of hostility."

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\*Appendix to First Report, p. 119.

Mr. Kelleher sought very plausibly to justify the absence of Irish language teaching in Trinity College by asking Mr. John McNeill if he thought that elementary teaching is the proper work for a University; but Dr. Douglas Hyde followed with a few inconvenient questions about elementary Hebrew and Arabic.

Q. 3501. . . . Mr. Kelleher—Just one question about the position of Irish in Trinity College. I will assume that the Gaelic League would admit that it is not the business of the University to give first lessons in a language?

Mr. McNeill—Lessons of a primary and elementary character?

3502. First lessons, beginning with the alphabet?—No, I should think not. . . . but (q. 3504) if no beginning has been made before I should say it would be much better for the University to begin than to leave them always in ignorance.

3509. (Dr. Douglas Hyde)—They also begin at the beginning of the language in Hebrew and in Arabic?—(Mr. Rolleston)—Probably.

3510. I think that covers the objection?—Yes, I think so.

## § 2.

### TRINITY COLLEGE AND THE ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS OF IRELAND.

"Its negligence of the economic requirements of the country has been equally marked," continues the Memorandum of Messrs. Magennis and Kettle. "Ireland is mainly an agricultural country; yet in this University, which is the caste University of the landlords of Ireland, vitally interested in the economic causes which affect the value of land and of agricultural products in Ireland, no attempt was ever made to establish a School of Agriculture, or to grapple seriously with the problems involved."

Pasteur, the celebrated French Catholic chemist, does not appear to have felt that, according to Catholic discipline, "investigation should be checked at every point by the ecclesiastical authorities," nor did he feel called on to assert loudly in words his own right and the right of all scientists to freedom in research. He was a lover of freedom and of science, in act and reality, and not in words only. He was among the greatest of chemists. He applied himself to a study of the diseases of wines, vinegar, and the silk-worm, which were threatening destruction to the wine and silk industries of France. He discovered the cause and the methods of preventing these diseases. And thus he saved his country the loss of millions upon millions in her commerce.

But what has the University of the "liberal ideal" done for science? Nothing. What has it done by science for the industries of the country? Nothing. We have had losses, very serious losses—notably through the potato blight and diseases of cattle—which might have been averted, or at least mitigated, by scientific investigation and scientific remedies. But Trinity College, and all who stand for and are associated with Trinity College, remained indifferent, passive spectators of all these national losses, or only contributed still further to the commercial losses of the country by the eviction and expatriation of the unhappy losers. And what has Trinity College done to promote better, more scientific methods of agriculture? The most amusing incident of the Trinity Commission was the search for the Agricultural School in Trinity College. Professor Joly told the Commission that a School of Agriculture had been established the previous year. The Chairman of the Commission thought it was admitted that there was no School of Agriculture. Mr. Kelleher, Fellow of Trinity College, said he did not know.

Q. 1274—(Professor Joly)—In that Memorandum (of Messrs. Magennis and Kettle) No. 34, page 119, the statement is made that Trinity College has done nothing to establish a School of Agriculture. We have actually established one. It has only been a year established, but we have already a Professor of Agriculture and a School of Agriculture.

2943. (Mr. Magennis)—We fail to find in the statement put forward on behalf of Trinity College itself any reference to a Professor, or a School, of Agriculture. I am myself aware that some time in this year a man in County Meath—I believe his name is Barnes—was appointed Professor of Agriculture. He was a valuer of the Land Commission, and I only hope, for the sake of Irish Agriculture, that he may succeed in making his pupils bring up their land to the value which he used to place upon land.

2946. . Chairman—I believe it to be admitted that there is no School of Agriculture in the College. Perhaps Mr. Kelleher will be able to tell us.

Mr. Kelleher—I do not know. You will find, I believe, that a Professor was appointed this year, and that there is a School of Agriculture at present working now. I do not like to say these things off-hand, but I believe that is so.

### § 3.

TRINITY COLLEGE AND THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL CHARACTER.

The standpoint from which the graduates of a University will view national questions and their relations to the

different classes of their fellow-countrymen cannot fail to be affected, for good or for evil, by the line of national studies distinctive of the University. It may, therefore, be anticipated that the development of character in Trinity College has been un-Irish, if not anti-Irish, from the absolute neglect of national studies in the College. The un-Irish purpose of its existence, and the consequent neglect of national studies in Trinity College, were admirably described by Mr. T. W. Rolleston to the Commission, with a suggestion of the disastrous effects of this education in after life on the students themselves, and on the country.

3385. . . As an Irish University, the great defect of Trinity College is that it takes practically no cognizance of Ireland. Of course there are historical reasons for this. The University was founded to meet the needs of a body of English colonists who were heartily convinced that beyond the English Pale everything was, as Sir John Davies put it, "uncivility, confusion, and barbarism." Incidentally it was to aid in civilising, which to the English mind always meant Anglicizing, and, after the Reformation, Protestantising the natives. . . . The opening of the Parliamentary franchise to Roman Catholics in 1793. . . and their admission by Act of Parliament of the same year to graduate in Trinity College were clear signals to the Irish Protestant gentry that the old colonization policy was dead, and that they must look forward, ere long, to shaking down on equal terms with their Roman Catholic and Celtic fellow-subjects. To do this, it would obviously have been of advantage to them to know something of the inner mind of Celtic Ireland. . . so that there should have been a certain community of knowledge. . . and a sympathy and intelligence resting on that knowledge. The total lack of this might even—as events in our own day have only too forcibly illustrated—prove disastrous to the small minority embedded in the large alien population now to be armed with education and with political power. . . . The natural result is that the Irish Protestant gentry and clergy have grown up more ignorant of their native land and of the minds of the people among whom they have to live than are, I suppose, the gentry of any country in Europe. I come from that class myself ; I know their mind, if I know anything in Ireland, and I say that, as a body, their ignorance of Ireland and the Irish is something almost incredible. They are as much at sea in attempting to understand and deal with the forces that are moulding the future of Ireland to-day as if they were a set of Chinese mandarins. I hold Trinity College mainly responsible for this result, so unfortunate to the class in question, so unfortunate also to the country to which it belongs.



The Provost of Trinity College spoke of two nations in Ireland. Mr. E. J. Gwynn argued that the success of distinct Colleges in one University in Oxford and Cambridge would not justify the establishment of a College for Catholics alongside with Trinity College in the University of Dublin ; for, he says,\* “ The vast majority of those who seek these (the English) Universities have been trained in boyhood under like conditions ; they have similar habits, and traditions and ideals ; they recognise the same code of conduct, and underneath all differences of class and party, lies the sense of community of race and country. . . . How different the case of Ireland is I need hardly insist.” Here, again, the theory of two nations is implied, and, worse still, that they do not recognise even the same code of conduct. If the statement were made by me that the Trinity College party in Ireland is a nation apart, un-Irish, or even anti-Irish, I am sure it would be immediately, and with passion, contradicted. I do not make the accusation. I only quote the views put before the recent Commission by the friends of Trinity College. It is asserted by some, and implied by several, that there are two nations in Ireland, which, though they do not call them by these names, must be English-Ireland and Irish-Ireland. It is unfortunate that, according to the evidence of the friends of Trinity College, the purpose of Trinity College at its foundation was to serve one of these nations and neglect the other ; that it has never taken a step, or made an effort, to make of these two nations one, to unite them, at least, as opposing political parties are united in the recognition of and allegiance to a common nationality. This two-nation theory has been injurious enough to England, but it has been disastrous to Ireland, where, if we accept the evidence given by the friends of Trinity College before the Commission, the relations of parties have been like the relations which might exist between a conquered and yet unconquerable people and the garrison of its conqueror daily growing weaker and weaker.

The Trinity College nation in Ireland take a just enough view of great reform movements abroad, unless perhaps religious prepossessions arouse their prejudice and warp their judgment. Suppose it is a movement of the great majority of a nation against the permanent and exclusive rule of a small, and perhaps alien, minority : their sympathies are with the agitators. Suppose it is a great reform movement in Russia ; well, they approve the reform movement. Their sympathies are with the reformers. They find that the Russian peasant is a poor, oppressed, down-trodden slave, who

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\*Appendix to First Report, p. 53.



is crushed by exorbitant demands, and kept in ignorance and superstition, that he may not realise the existence and depth of his misery and degradation. They deplore, no doubt, and condemn the excesses committed in the course of the agitation. But these are, they say, the inevitable accompaniments of a social revolution. And if we would make a just allocation of the moral responsibility for these excesses, we should fix it, they would say, not so much on the excited populace, as on the oppressor, and on the Government which failed in its duty of governing for the general good of the community. But suppose it is a great reform movement in Ireland, say, for Catholic Emancipation, or to prevent the minister of an alien Church from coming into your cornfield in the harvest-time and taking off a tithe of your corn sheaves, or for equal rights in the matter of education, or for the right to live a life of moderate comfort on the soil of the country, or a share for the majority in the management of the domestic affairs of the country, proportionate to their number, education, and capacity—then the Trinity College nation takes a different view of a reform movement. No one to-day would contest the justice of these great reform movements. Yet they were resisted at every step by Protestant Ireland and denounced as disloyal and immoral. Redress of the most glaring wrongs was obtained only after continued and violent agitation, accompanied, unhappily, by the inevitable attendants of such agitation, excesses and crime. And I think history will fix the moral responsibility for these excesses, not upon the oppressed nation which fought only for its legitimate rights, but on those who resisted the peaceful and legal removal of intolerable disabilities and burdens, and on the successive Governments which governed for a party and not in the general interest of the community.

Then it is characteristic of the Trinity College formation to represent the second nation, the Irish nation, in Ireland, as disloyal. But is Irish-Ireland really disloyal? It has not got a fair chance under England; which, unhappily, adopted for too long a time, in its legislation and administration, the two-nation theory, and governed in the interest of a party and not in the interest of the whole community. The Irish nation in Ireland, it is true, essayed a bit of insurrection, and lived for long on the barren hope that "England's difficulty might be Ireland's opportunity." These were movements and hopes generated by despair; by despair of obtaining by constitutional methods the redress of the most weighty grievances. However, the remedial legislation of the last forty years has been gradually and continuously changing

despair into hope, and altering the political out-look of Irish-Ireland. But Trinity College will ask: Is not this Ireland still disloyal? The Irish people say they are not disloyal. They pay their taxes, they say; they obey the laws; they contribute their share, in the army and navy, to the defence of the Empire; they are, they say, loyal effectively. But affective loyalty? Do they wish well to the Empire? do they rejoice in her prosperity? would they wish her victorious in war? It were idle, if not mischievous, to deny the absence of affective loyalty in Irish-Ireland. There are too many outstanding serious grievances un-redressed which would have been redressed long ago if Irish-Ireland were not Irish-Ireland. And even the great remedial legislation of the last forty years came too slowly, too unspontaneously, rather from fear of violent agitation than in response to the dictates of reason and conscience, in a form too imperfect and incomplete when it did come, to produce much affective loyalty, much warmth of affection for England. Irish-Ireland, in fact, is not yet contented; she is discontented, but not disloyal. She makes hypotheses. She asks herself how should she fare if she were united, say, to the United States, or to Germany or to Russia. Should she have her Parliament? should she have a system of education acceptable to her people? should she be obliged to contribute annually to the imperial purse three or four millions in excess of what a Royal Commission found to be her equitable contribution? should her contribution to the imperial chest become yearly still more disproportionate by the expenses of foreign wars which, though they may open up new prospects for individual Irish emigrants as for individual foreigners, bring no benefit to Ireland as a nation? Irish-Ireland thinks that, at present, she derives no advantage from union with England; that, as she is governed, she would fare better in union with any other Great Power; that she would lose nothing if she were taken, say in war, by some other Power. She is striving for legislative measures which would establish better relations between her and England, which might make her feel that she fared as well, at least, in union with England as she would fare in union with any other country. Then might affective loyalty be expected to manifest itself, and the old despairing catch-cry of "England's difficulty will be Ireland's opportunity" might give way to the conviction that England's prosperity is Ireland's prosperity and England's adversity Ireland's adversity, that England's strength is Ireland's strength and England's weakness Ireland's weakness.

It is to be sincerely hoped that, whatever the final solution of the University difficulty may be, Trinity College will in future use its great power and influence to cement the two races in Ireland into one, that they may be one people and one nation. The difficulties with England would soon disappear; they are fast disappearing. Hatred of England is disappearing more rapidly in Ireland than the racial strife between Irishmen themselves. The bitterness in the racial strife seems to become more acute on the part of a section of the landlord party by every new popular parliamentary concession to Ireland. But on the other hand the old feeling, in the masses of the people, of hatred for landlords is disappearing, or has actually disappeared where peasant proprietorship has been established. I do not say that it has been succeeded by a feeling of affection; it is rather, I think, a feeling of indifference, except in the case of individuals of special merit, as towards a negligible quantity. It is unfortunate that the landlord party in Ireland should continue to pursue a policy which leaves them a negligible quantity in the public life of their own country. And yet the situation, though singularly unfortunate and regrettable, is not unintelligible. Reforms are troublesome and arouse party passions even when there can be give and take on both sides. But where all the power and positions in a country have been in the hands of one party, as in Ireland, reform can be carried out only by taking from the ascendancy party and giving to the party which had nothing. It is intelligible, I suppose, that a class long accustomed to a position of exclusive power and authority should get restive at the loss of its old privileges, and should rather unwillingly reconcile itself to a share in national administration only proportionate to its number and administrative capacity. Yet if we consider the Devolution movement—abstracting from its intrinsic merits—merely as evidence of a new tendency, and if we consider the recent election of Mr. M'Murrough Kavanagh as Nationalist member for Carlow, we shall, I think, become convinced that a section, and a very intelligent section, of the landlord party, repudiate the two-nation theory of Trinity College, that they wish to see Ireland so governed that she can naturally live in terms of cordial union with England.

It is not impossible to cultivate, in Ireland, affective loyalty to England. It will grow out of the concession of Ireland's demands. It is a plant worth cultivating even for Ireland's sake. It is a cramping condition for a section of a big kingdom or empire to isolate itself and take no interest in the broad general interests of the kingdom of which

it is a part. Though our first duty must be to Ireland—and we shall serve Ireland and England best by attending first to the special interests of Ireland—an intelligent interest in the general affairs of the Empire is desirable to prevent stagnation and to stimulate us in every direction, intellectual, industrial, and commercial. We are moving in that direction. It were well if all parties and creeds in Ireland combined to hasten the passing of those legislative measures that would secure its speedy consummation.

\*   .   \*   .   \*   .   \*   .   \*   .   \*

The friends of Trinity College are keenly conscious of the fact that the College stands in urgent need of re-organisation. The Governing Body, the Fellowship system and, above all, the relation of the College to the country stand in need of reformation. The Provost hopes that reforms will be carried out by King's letter, and not by Act of Parliament. "Everyone," he says (q. 327), "interested in the future of the College must see that nothing could be more injurious to its interests than to let them become the play of parties, or be subjected to debates, by persons who cannot understand the questions involved." But the questions will naturally suggest themselves: Why then is the question of Catholic education always subjected to the play of parties? Is Trinity College such a delicate hot-house plant that it cannot bear the air of Parliamentary discussion?

## CHAPTER XI.

# Trinity College and the University Question.

I will deal in this chapter with the relation of Trinity College to the great problem known as the Irish University Question, and I will describe some of the proposals for the solution of this difficulty which were submitted to the recent Trinity Commission by the representatives and friends of Trinity College. Not that I attach any importance or value to these solutions, except in so far as they reveal to us, by an object lesson in illiberalism, the peculiar "University formation" acquired and developed under the aegis of the "liberal ideal" within the walls of Trinity College. Trinity men have been always "liberal" to themselves, at least to their own particular communion within Protestantism. But they have never shown a true liberalism towards Catholics or non-Episcopalian Protestants. In particular, they have failed to realise the educational grievances and claims of Catholics; and they show no disposition to do unto Catholics in the matter of education, what they have a right to expect that Catholics should do unto them.

The attitude of Trinity College towards Catholics has been different at different periods. I will endeavour to describe what that attitude was prior to the year 1794; what it was from 1794 to 1873; what it has been since 1873; and, finally, some of the proposals submitted to the Trinity Commission for the solution of this vexed question.

### § I.

#### TRINITY COLLEGE AND CATHOLICS PRIOR TO 1794.

The attitude of the present representatives and friends of Trinity College towards a satisfactory solution of the Catholic education difficulty is but the continuation, in a somewhat mitigated form, of the historical attitude of Trinity towards fair play to Catholics. Mr. Denis Caulfield Heron, in his "Constitutional History of the University of Dublin," describes how, prior to 1793, Catholics could not, through the enforcement of tests, obtain even a degree in Trinity—to say nothing of a Fellowship or Scholarship—without fore-swearing their faith; how apostacy to secure a Scholarship



was frequent ; and how the admission of Catholics even to the College lectures, though connived at by the authorities for the sake of the fees, was opposed to the letter and spirit of the law.

Catholics (he writes), up to their legal admission in 1794, were allowed to receive their education in Trinity College, although in violation of the law, and were even in some cases admitted to Scholarships, but were carefully excluded from the higher emoluments (p. 49). . . Catholics were permitted to enter College, because the fees they paid were profitable to the Fellows, and because there was hope that they might see the errors of their ways and become good Protestants ; although by sanctioning such admission the Fellows violated both the spirit and letter of their oaths and of the laws imposed by the Charter of 13 Car. i. (p. 82) . . . Trinity College was thus managed on the principle of a net. All Catholics were permitted to enter ; the smaller fry—the lesser talents—were allowed to escape, but the good fish were detained for ever. Even now, at this present time when previous to obtaining Scholarships, the Sacrament of the Church has to be swallowed by the conscience of the apostate, those “ conversions ” frequently happen (p. 83). . . There have been many amongst the Fellows of Trinity College who dated their Protestantism from the time when they “ turned for Scholarship.” Of those who thus conform, some remain in their new creed, and even become ministers of the Established Church ; others on the expiration of the five years during which Scholarship lasts, return to the profession of the Catholic faith. This latter class enjoys the nickname of *quinquennes*, from the five years during which they were Protestants (p. 192)

Evidently during that period the importance of bringing the youth of different religions together during their collegiate years, which is so much emphasised to-day, was not clearly and practically perceived by Protestants. Though, perhaps, ecclesiastical authority counted for little, as it always does among Protestants, yet academic merit was denied its legitimate rewards and emoluments unless it was hallowed by the reception of the Protestant chalice. The hand of Protestant Ascendancy was over the whole system of education.

## § 2.

### TRINITY COLLEGE AND CATHOLICS FROM 1794 TO 1873.

After the Act of the Irish Parliament in 1793, or the Letters Patent of 1794, Catholics were admitted to the Degree of Trinity College without subscribing anti-Catholic



tests ; but they continued to be excluded from the Fellowships and the Foundation Scholarships.

### § 3.

#### TRINITY COLLEGE AND CATHOLICS AFTER 1873.

Finally, Mr. Fawcett's Act of 1873 abolished all Tests in the University of Dublin, except in the case of the Professors in the Faculty of Theology, and opened all offices to every person, irrespective of religion. Since then, Protestants contend that we have perfect educational equality ; that there are no Tests ; that the degrees and emoluments of the University and College are equally open to all ; that our objection to Trinity College arises from our different ideal of education ; that we want, not equality, but privilege.

But how can it be reasonably maintained that perfect equality was established in 1873, when the Governing Body was left exclusively Protestant, and when the twenty-five Junior Fellows and the non-Fellow Professors, say, to the number of thirty, were all, or nearly all, Protestants. I think that a Minister of the Crown, who would have wished to establish at that time perfect equality within Trinity College, would have proposed the following solution of the case. He would have said : The emoluments of Trinity College have been, thus far, reserved exclusively for Episcopalian Protestants. They have been fenced round for them by Tests, even by the necessity of drinking the Protestant chalice. If I merely abolish these Tests, Catholics will say : " You may break, you may shatter the vase as you will, but the scent of the roses will hang round it still." If I were to reform the system of county government, I should abolish the Grand Juries and establish County Councils, to be elected by the votes of the people. And so, to establish equality between the creeds in Trinity College I shall have to give the creeds a fair equal start. I shall have to abolish the existing Governing Body, to disband the Fellows and Professors, and to appoint a new Board, new Fellows and Professors, half Catholic and half Protestant. I shall provide that, in reasonable time, all future appointments shall go by academic merit. As you all accept the Christian creeds, I shall order that no Professor or Lecturer shall teach anything at variance with these creeds, and that there shall be dual chairs of philosophy and history. In this way I hope to establish equality in the College.

But Protestants will ask, would Catholics accept that solution ? It has never been considered by the Catholic Hierarchy, because it has never come within the range of practical possibility. If in a country of mixed religions it were the only solution which the Government would offer, it could

be availed of by Catholics. But would it be accepted by Protestants? Protestants work the device that the educational difficulty proceeds from the Catholic side alone. But would they themselves accept this proposal of perfect equality? They would not. They would reject it on the alleged pretext that it would destroy academic freedom, but in reality because it would put an end to their ascendancy in the Corporation of Trinity College. They no longer insist on the drinking of the chalice. Catholics can go to Trinity for their education and pay their fees. The degrees and emoluments of Trinity College are open to them without religious Test. But Protestants got such a preponderance, a monopoly, at the start, on the Governing Body, and among the Fellows and Professors, that they are safe, in perpetuity, in their position of ascendancy in the Corporation of the College.

I introduce this hypothesis of perfect numerical equality in the Corporation of Trinity College to show that a scheme of perfect equality in the same College is as unacceptable to Protestants as it is to Catholics, but on different grounds. It is unacceptable to Catholics as an ideal, on account of their opposition to mixed education. But it is unacceptable to Protestants simply because it would establish equality and destroy their ascendancy. Hence, a solution of the educational difficulty must be looked for in some other direction. And it is evident that, though religious tests have been abolished, and making allowance for social changes, the spirit of ascendancy is relatively as living and active under Provost Traill and his colleagues as it was in the days of Provosts Bedell and Laud. This, I think, will be evident from the evidence given by the Trinity witnesses before the Commission.

#### § 4.

#### RECENT TRINITY PROPOSALS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

##### I.

##### DR. TRAILL'S SOLUTION.

The Provost of Trinity told the Commission that he would welcome a thousand Catholic students to Trinity College. He was opposed to Catholic representation on the Governing Body. He was opposed to the establishment of a College for Catholics in Dublin University; as two Colleges with different ideals cannot be associated with advantage in the same University. He was opposed to the establishment of a College for Catholics in Dublin, whether as a College of



Dublin University or of the Royal University. He would graciously consent to the establishment of a University College for the Catholics of Ireland in Cork!

Q. 49. I wish to bring forward the following arguments against the introduction of a second College into the University of Dublin, etc.

51. Chairman—You may have a denominational College in a University which is undenominational?—I do not think so at all, if the same rule as is applied in a denominational College is to be applied to the University professor, which is what they claim.

52. Take the case of London University, which used to have as affiliated colleges Stonyhurst and St. Edmund's, both Roman Catholic Colleges?—That was only an examining body at the time.

53. No, at that time it was a University with affiliated colleges?—But London University had nothing to do but examine. That is a very great difference. There is no difficulty in the Royal University.

83. Would you be opposed—asks Dr. Douglas Hyde—to a separate University in Dublin which should have the Roman Catholic atmosphere which satisfies the Catholics?—A separate University raises questions that I have nothing to say to. It is a political question: . . .

84. . . I object altogether to two Colleges together in Dublin on the lines of Trinity College; there is not room for the two.

87. . . Then you think that Trinity College satisfies all the functions of a National University?—I object to the word "National" altogether. "National" is a very ambiguous expression in Ireland. . . .

90. Why should it (the University) not be duplicated here in order to give University education to a greater number of people who would like University education of a kind which, for some reason or another, you are not able to offer?—I cannot help what has been done to prevent their coming into here. We have done everything we could.

91. But is it not the fact that more people matriculated this year in the Royal University than there are students on the College books altogether?—The Royal University does not educate them.

92. Still, it shows that there is a larger proportion of people who would attend a University if they had such a University as they would like to attend?—I have already said that I am perfectly prepared to give them a College for that purpose. If you put it in Cork it would be a still better place; that is the place which wants it most.

93. I think there would be a serious objection to placing it in Cork, because it would be cutting off the capital of Ireland from having any part in the higher education of the people of Ireland, outside Trinity College?—And outside Dublin.

94. You strongly object to the word "National" in the sense of a National University. "National" may be interpreted in another way, that is, a University for teaching people about the nation. Would you say that Trinity College as it exists—

The Provost—What people in England and elsewhere ought to realise is that there are two nations in Ireland; the sooner they realise that the better; there is not one nation in Ireland.

Dr. Douglas Hyde—And you educate for only one of them.\*

## II.

### THE REV. T. T. GRAY'S VIEWS.

The Rev. T. T. Gray is a Senior Fellow. He is, I have no doubt, an amiable and learned old gentleman. But his evidence does not bear the impress of Newman's "philosophic mind." His cure for all our educational ills is—"to remove the ban."

3922. But in this twentieth century the Roman Catholic Bishops, I submit, are not masters of the position; but the Roman Catholic laity are masters of the position. Withdraw the ban from Trinity and the Queen's Colleges, and you may await the result with confidence.

3923. (The Chairman)—Withdraw the ban?—The ban which at present hangs over Queen's Colleges and Trinity College.

3924. You say withdraw. To whom are you addressing that—is it to Parliament, or to us, or to whom?—I have stated here more exactly that if it is insisted upon by the Commission as a *sine qua non* condition of any action in this University question, the condition is that the Roman Catholic Hierarchy shall withdraw the ban which at present exists prohibiting their co-religionists going to either Trinity College, Dublin, or the Queen's Colleges.

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\*It is only fair to add that Dr. Traill has withdrawn his opposition to the establishment of a College for Catholics in Dublin. In a speech delivered to Trinity College graduates in Manchester on December 6th, 1907, he expressed his cordial acceptance of the scheme which the Chief Secretary, Mr. Birrell, meant to propose for the solution of the University Question.

3925. I follow your plan, I think?—As you find in the printed statement which I sent in, I say that there is no principle violated by their doing so. Roman Catholics are allowed to go to Oxford and Cambridge.

3926. We cannot withdraw the ban?—No doubt you cannot withdraw it. . . .

As many people seem to think there is a different law for Catholics in England and Ireland in relation to the Universities, it may be well to explain that there is in reality no difference at all. There is a vast difference between a College which imposes an immoral test and a College which is merely considered dangerous to faith and morals ; and here I speak of the latter type of College. The question of danger to faith is one which comes home to all who have fixed religious principles, whether they are Catholics or Protestants. Catholics have very firm settled religious convictions, and do not wish to expose unnecessarily their children to spiritual danger, whether of the mind, or of the will, or of the heart ; and I assume also that Protestants, who value Christian truths and Christian principles, are adverse to expose their sons to what they consider religious danger. The practice of the Church in presence of spiritual dangers, though in the course of the ages it has come to be expressed in technical language, does not differ materially from the practice of the ordinary Christian parent in the presence of similar danger.

If the danger is such that it will inevitably end in spiritual shipwreck, the Church, like the ordinary parent, forbids her children to go into the danger. But it sometimes happens, for example, in countries of mixed religions, that a system of education has to be established which no party considers ideal ; and if the dangers incidental to the system can be easily averted the Church gives the system what is technically called "toleration," which is next to formal approval. Again, there may be another type of educational system which the Church will neither condemn nor declare "tolerable" ; on which she will pass no judgment ; but which she will allow to be tried provisionally, that it may be judged by its fruits. And finally, there are colleges and systems of education which the Church does not exactly prohibit to Catholics, but which she regards, in spite of all precautions, dangerous to faith and morals for the ordinary type of collegiate student. The Church may declare them dangerous to faith and morals ; or without formally declaring them dangerous, she may prescribe the rules and precautions which apply only to colleges and systems of education which she considers dangerous. She may issue an



instruction that Catholic students are not to go indiscriminately to these colleges ; that it is only the more reliable, the more intelligent, the better instructed in their religion, who can be permitted to frequent them ; that they should consult their spiritual guides and take all the necessary precautions to safeguard their faith and their morals in these Colleges.

Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges have been declared intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals. The English Universities are not now formally declared to be dangerous to faith and morals ; but the rules prescribed for attending dangerous colleges have been prescribed for the English Universities. And, consequently, the discipline of the Church is substantially the same in regard to the English Universities and to Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges. Catholics are not prohibited by the Church to go to Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges. They can lawfully go to them in the same circumstances in which it is lawful to go to Oxford or Cambridge.

What then is the "ban" ? Why are Irish Catholics demanding a University or University College for Catholics while English Catholics are satisfied with Oxford and Cambridge ?

The "ban" is not a prohibition. It is a solemn declaration and warning to Catholics that Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges are dangerous to faith and morals. When for example, a parent warns his son against certain companions, or certain books, or certain places or haunts, as dangerous to him, he may not be imposing a formal prohibition ; the parental ban may simply be an admonition to the son that such company or such books or such haunts are dangerous, and should be avoided. We know that, independently of a special ecclesiastical prohibition, it is unlawful to go into the occasion of serious moral danger without necessity and without adequate precautions. And, on the other hand, I suppose that every parent realises that, when there is a necessity for it, and when adequate precautions are taken, and when there is reason to hope that the danger will be happily surmounted, boys and girls must be allowed to run certain risks. Catholics are warned against the dangers of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges ; there is no ecclesiastical prohibition against going to them ; it is lawful for individuals to go to these Colleges, if there be some necessity for going to them, and if precautions are taken against the dangers that may be encountered in them. It is lawful for Irish Catholics to enter Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges in the same circumstances in which it is lawful for Catholics to enter the English Universities.

Why, then, it may be asked, do Irish Catholics demand a University College for Catholics in Ireland when their co-religionists in England make no demand for a University College for Catholics? The Church recognises her position of numerical inferiority in England. She cannot hope that the State will there establish a University College for Catholics. And accordingly she declares that it is a case where necessity justifies Catholics in running a risk and going to the Universities. Similar necessity, if it existed, would justify Catholics going to Colleges in Ireland which have been declared dangerous. But is it the contention of Protestants that there shall be no colleges for Catholics in Ireland but colleges which they consider dangerous? Is it not enough that in Protestant England the Catholic minority have to plead necessity for going to Protestant Colleges? Is it the high-water mark of Protestant liberality to say to us: We offer you access to a College with a good Protestant atmosphere; we will give you nothing else; accept our offer or you will have no university education at all; according to your own principles you can lawfully come to us, for necessity will justify your coming to us, as it justifies your co-religionists in going to Oxford and Cambridge? Why should Catholics in a Catholic country like Ireland be put to the necessity of seeking higher education in colleges dangerous to their faith, when colleges in harmony with their religious beliefs can be established for members of all creeds?

"Remove the ban," says the Rev. Mr. Gray. But who is to remove the ban? The ban is not a prohibition, but a declaration of danger and a warning. Will a parent remove "the ban" against bad companions, or immoral literature, or dangerous haunts, as long as the danger continues? The ban can cease only by the cessation of danger. Warnings against dangers will be sounded as long as dangers continue. If, therefore, the Rev. Mr. Gray wishes "the ban" to be removed, let him address himself to those who have it in their power to remove the danger. Possibly he may say there is no danger, that the dangers we speak of are purely imaginary. But how can it be maintained that the dangers are only imaginary when it is boasted that atheism can be lawfully taught in Trinity College, that the Divinity of Christ and the inspiration of Scripture can be denied there, that Catholics and Protestants do not recognise the same code of conduct?

### III.

#### THE SCHEME FOR WIDENING THE CONSTITUTION OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

If the verbal professions of the Fellows of Trinity College would constitute equality, freedom and liberality, nothing more could be desired reasonably by the Irish nation in the form of religious freedom and equality in the domain of higher education than what Trinity College offers. But when we pass from verbal protestations to the hard region of fact we find that the evolution of the idea of religious freedom and equality in Trinity College has been singularly slow, wanting in correspondence to the circumstances of the case, and ineffective.

We are, indeed, far from the days when the education and degrees of Trinity College were strictly reserved by tests for Episcopalian Protestants; and from the later period when the Scholarships and Fellowships were fenced in by the test, though Catholics were admitted to the degrees. The next stage of evolution was Mr. Fawcett's Act, which abolished all tests outside the Divinity School, but made Trinity, at least in theory, a non-Christian College, in which even the creeds of ancient united Christendom no longer have, in law, or by statute, a restraining influence on the teaching of the Lecturers and Professors. But one thing, through all these changes, remained intangible—the Board. Catholics would get a chapel in Trinity College: provision would be made for their religious instruction by Catholic priests; but the Board of Trinity College should remain intangible.

Now, if we allow ourselves to recall the fact that the Board is constituted, not by election, but by co-optation of Junior Fellows; that the Junior Fellows were all necessarily Protestants prior to 1873; that they are still, with one exception, all Protestants (three being Presbyterians); that all, or nearly all the Professors are Protestants; we shall, I think, not be surprised to find that Catholics still refuse to admit that equality has been established in Trinity College.

To make some immediate provision for Catholic representation on the Board, with a view to attract Catholic students and to make Trinity College a real national University, a Memorandum was submitted to the Commission\* "by Twelve Junior Fellows, One Retired Fellow, and Eight Professors," for widening the constitution of Trinity College.

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\*See Appendix to First Report, p. 23.

This Memorandum suggested the establishment of an Advisory Committee with certain defined duties in regard to Catholics ; that, if required, second Professors be appointed in Mental and Moral Science and in History ; that provision be made for the religious instruction of Catholic students by priests of their own faith, and, if so desired, that a Catholic chapel be established in Trinity College ; and, finally, that, for a period of twenty-five years, Catholics get twenty-five per cent. of the Board of Trinity College.

The proposal met with a very unfavourable reception from the Board and from the general body of the supporters of Trinity College. It would imply a violation of Fawcett's Act, they objected. Yet, though the Divinity School in Trinity College is still subject to tests, they would give it representation on the Board. But the real reason of the opposition was, that the Protestant friends of Trinity College do not want an in-rush of Catholics into Trinity. They would welcome the sons of Catholic professional men, but they want Protestantism to retain its ascendancy by numbers in Trinity College. As it has a direct bearing on the present subject, I will quote again a passage already quoted in a previous chapter from the evidence given by Dean Bernard before the Commission. Speaking of these proposals, he said :—

743. Those who promote the scheme seem to be blind to the sources from which Trinity College is fed. Let us remember that eighty per cent. of the undergraduates of Trinity College are Church of Ireland members. They represent the Church that has stood for all that has formed around Trinity College. Are we to alienate their sympathy in the hope of conciliating those who are hostile to it? It is the most foolish of proposals.

It is evident that the Board and friends of Trinity College will consent to no change in the constitution of the College which would establish equality for Catholics. Even if all the proposals of the Memorandum I have described were granted, equality would not be established. It could not be accepted as a solution of the University difficulty. When, for example, Mr. Gerald Balfour contemplated a change in the old Grand Jury system, did he consider it a reasonable proposal to make to the masses of the people to offer them twenty-five per cent of the representation on the Grand Juries? Would the nation have been satisfied with such a proposal? If Mr. Fawcett had dealt with Trinity College as Mr. Gerald Balfour dealt, at a later period, with the Grand Juries, if he had disbanded the old Governing Body and the Professoriate, and appointed in their place a mixed Board

and Professoriate, half Catholic and half Protestant, then it might be said that equality had been established. But the resistance of Trinity College, and of the general body of Protestants, would make such a solution impossible. And it is evident that we cannot look, with any hope of success, to a solution of the Educational Difficulty, which would establish equality, from the re-organisation of Trinity College.

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Trinity College wants to be let alone. Be it so. Yet many people think that the friends of Trinity have made a mistake in opposing the establishment of a second College in Dublin University, and in opposing Mr. Bryce's scheme. Trinity will decline more and more if it is not brought into Irish life, if it does not become a College for Ireland. However there can be no settlement of the University Question until a College for Catholics is established in Dublin. But what the final grouping of Colleges in relation to Universities will be I suppose it is impossible to foretell.



## CHAPTER XII.

# Modernism and the University Question.

(APPENDIX.)

This chapter was suggested by a leading article in the "Church of Ireland Gazette" of November 15th, 1907, entitled "The Pope's Encyclical and University Education." The article purports to be a criticism of the Encyclical, particularly in its relation to University Education and scientific freedom. But though the writer of the article had before him the translation of the Encyclical published as a supplement to "The Tablet" of September 28th, his article betrays a hopeless misconception, if we do not say misrepresentation, of the Papal Encyclical. Protestants of this type will use the Encyclical to create prejudices against the efforts of the Government to redress the grievances of Irish Catholics in the matter of University Education; and this is the reason why I am bringing the article in the "Church of Ireland Gazette" before the notice of a wider public.

"Mr. Birrell," the writer says, "has promised that he will do next year what he has promised to do this year, bring in a Bill establishing on a firm basis and munificently endowing Irish University Education. And he will be met in Parliament by the English Protestants, his own supporters, brandishing in his face this Papal Decree."

The writer of the leading article in the "Church of Ireland Gazette" is not the only one of our Protestant friends who has made his "protest" against the recent pronouncement of the Vatican. Preaching on Church Re-union in St. Patrick's Cathedral on Sunday, November 3rd, Dean Bernard is reported to have said: "Recent pronouncements from the Vatican—the 65 decrees of the Holy Office last July—the unfortunate Encyclical on modern thought promulgated a few weeks ago in the name of the Pope—these things tend to dissociate the Roman Catholic Church, even more definitely than in former generations, from the rest of Western Christendom. And we have learnt from the newspapers during the past few days that the penalty for freedom of thought and freedom of inquiry on the part of a devout son of the Roman Church is refusal of the Sacraments. . . .

And until they are withdrawn there can be no prospect of definite reunion with the See of Rome."\*

And at the opening meeting of Trinity College Theological Society, the Protestant Bishop of Meath "held with the Auditor that the recent Papal Encyclical was hopelessly blind to the progress of modern thought and scholarship."

What, then, is the "Modernism" which has been condemned? How are we to explain the hostile attitude taken up by Protestants towards the Encyclical and Decree against Modernism? How does the condemnation affect University life, intellectual freedom, and freedom of publication?

## § 1.

### WHAT IS MODERNISM?

It is extraordinary how much Protestants appear to be affected by the condemnation of any theory which is presented to the world under the label of "Progress," "Modern," "Modern Thought," "Liberal," "Freedom," "Freedom of Thought," "Toleration," and the like, often, apparently, without taking the trouble to study or observe what these words or their opposites mean in actual life. Yet, if we would form a just and correct view of the doctrines and discipline of a Church and their relation to intellectual life, it is as essential to observe the actual life, the intellectual life, of the practical members of that Church, as it is to study the individual phenomena of nature in order to arrive at just philosophical generalisations. Now, if Protestants allowed themselves dispassionately to contemplate Catholic life, as it actually manifests itself in the world, they would find that there is no opposition between Catholicity and Modern Progress, as usually understood. Do they see Catholics forbidden to avail themselves of any of the triumphs and fruits of Modern Science; of the train, of the electric tram, of the steamer, of the motor car? Can they point to any scientific or historical conclusion which is founded on satisfactory evidence, and which Catholics may not accept? Can they point to any intellectual restraint on Catholics except the restraints imposed by the Creeds which are common to the whole of Christendom? Thoughts like these should suggest, I think, to a writer or speaker, that when the venerated Head of the Catholic Church condemned "Modernism," he did not mean to condemn men of "Liberal" views; that the word "Modernism" must have a definite, a technical meaning. And if the writer or speaker

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\**Daily Express*, November 4.

were a conscientious critic he would take care before launching out into oral or written criticism to inform himself carefully of the technical meaning of the word "Modernism," of the nature of the doctrines condemned in the Papal Encyclical. Now the term "Modernism" in the Papal Encyclical does not stand for some vague, indefinite collection of "modern" views. It stands for a definite system, for a definite body of erroneous doctrines. What is this system, and what are these erroneous doctrines? I have been dealing with this subject for a considerable time, in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record,"† both before and since the publication of the Papal Encyclical, and I will give here an outline of the system of "Modernism."

Modernism, or the theory of Immanence, or Pragmatism—as the new system of religion is variously called—is an interpretation of Christianity which has been advocated these recent years, among others, by a number of Catholic writers, chiefly priests. It is not the work of a day. These thinkers, we may presume, started on their way with the laudable purpose of reaching a system of apologetics which would be more acceptable to the modern scientific mind than the traditional system. But their labours have not been blessed with happy results. Their system has been condemned. And, unhappily, the Catholic world has to lament a certain obstinacy and want of submission—which I hope will be only of short duration—on the part of a few of the old leaders, to the voice of the Supreme Pastor.

In its final form, Modernism might be described as a revolt against intellectualism in the matter of religion, a movement to exclude the speculative mind altogether from the sphere of religious truth. It is obvious, therefore, that Modernism is not far off from Agnosticism. For Agnosticism teaches that we can know nothing about God, or supernatural religion, or even the super-sensible in the order of nature; while Modernism maintains that it is immaterial to the life of religion whether we know God mentally or not, whether we believe mentally in supernatural revelation or not; that mental belief is but "the flesh which profiteth nothing." I will describe first the general principles of Modernism, and then I will explain how these principles are applied to the truths of the Christian religion.

# I

Modernism differs fundamentally from the traditional view of Christianity in its conception of the life of religion, of

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†"I. E. Record," July, 1906; January, April, July, October, November, 1907; January, 1908.

supernatural revelation, of the origin, the intellectual truth and the inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures, of faith and of doctrinal development. And starting with a different conception of religion and revelation it was inevitable that it should offer a new conception of the great truths of the Christian religion, of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Sacraments, the Church, etc.

1. To begin with the Modernist conception of "the life of religion": The Abbé Loisy and Father Tyrrell represent the life of religion as a kind of organic life, which is capable of variation and transformation by natural selection; and this conception of religious life has a very intimate and important bearing on the Modernist theory of revelation and doctrinal development. Underlying the recent speculations of these two priests—the chiefs of the Modernist movement—we notice, bearing on the present question, two erroneous philosophical theories, agnosticism and something akin to the theory of the Greek philosopher, Heracleitus. According to Heracleitus, there is no abiding substance in the world; everything is in a state of "becoming," of "perpetual flux." And, according to Father Tyrrell, there is no abiding "spirit" in man, no abiding spiritual substance, such as we conceive "the soul" to be, no abiding "personality." A person is an act of "willing." "We are," he writes,\* "each of us, a single 'willing.'" We are, each of us, his own last act; which itself is the term by evolution of all the acts that preceded it, and again modifies itself and dissolves into something different in response to a similar transformation in its surroundings. Father Tyrrell, it must be mentioned, does not adopt this theory as a scientifically demonstrated conclusion. But he works with it throughout. And his theory of the origin and development of "the life of religion" is in perfect harmony with the old Heracleitan philosophy.

How, then, is the life of religion conceived to have originated, and then to have varied and transformed itself under the aegis of natural selection? First, in the physical order, man has descended—they say—by evolution, from a lower organic order. In the early days of the species he lived a solitary individualistic life. Social life, however, soon vanquished the solitary life in the struggle for existence. Simultaneously with, or soon after, the appearance of social life, there must have appeared, unaccountably—as varieties do appear unaccountably—a new phenomenon in the human species, "a consciousness of right and wrong," "a preference

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\*Lex Orandi, p. 10.

for one line of conduct to another," "a sympathetic response to good and antipathetic response to evil." This was the life of religion. And to explain how it has since varied and become transformed, let me recall that, according to Father Tyrrell, "we are, each of us, a single 'willing,' which, however we may analyse it, into a sum total of past and present 'willings,' from which it results, is, nevertheless, one simple act. . . . Every instant of our life this 'willing' modifies itself and dissolves into something different, in response to a similar transformation of our surroundings." We are, it is said, each of us, a single "willing," a single "act." We are, each of us, the act of consciousness of right and the "willing" of right in preference to wrong. We may analyse our present "willing," our present "act," and resolve it virtually into distinct parts, for example, as it may regard secular and religious objects. But it remains one act, which is, in reality, our person. And, like the person, the consciousness of right and the "willing" of what is right varies and dissolves itself, every instant, into something different, in response to similar changes in the surroundings. And each person's life of religion is his present consciousness and "willing" of what is right, in a broad liberal sense, in science, in art, in the ethical order, in trade and commerce, in the entire domain of the activities of a useful member of the human society.

It is unnecessary, I think, to point out that this account of the origin and development of the life of religion is identical with the agnostic theory of the origin and subsequent evolution of the moral sense and of morality. It is claimed for it that it has recalled attention to the fact that religion has its origin in the constitution of human nature, that it is a matter of personal experience, and not an intellectual process. But the claim will not be conceded; for the Church has never represented religion to be exclusively an intellectual process. Religion has its origin in the constitution of human nature in the sense that man has a natural inclination to seek out the First Cause of all things, and the power to find Him by the light of reason; that having found the First Cause, man is disposed by nature to worship Him; that his cognitive faculties reveal to him the moral law and the duty of observing its commandments. This is natural religion. But there is also the life of supernatural religion, destined as a preparation for the supernatural destiny of the beatific vision. But a life of religion, whether natural or supernatural, supposes an act of the cognitive faculty, by which we cognise the existence of God and of the moral law. "How then," asks St. Paul, "shall they call on Him in whom they



have not believed?"† However, the act of the speculative reason is not the be-all and end-all of religion. As "without faith it is impossible to please God," so, both in the natural and supernatural order, knowledge or faith without good works is dead. Religion compels into its service, not only the speculative mind, but also the will, the heart, the affections, the whole man.

Finally, let me observe that "consciousness of right and wrong" is conceived by Father Tyrrell to be, not an act of the cognitive faculty, but an act of "feeling." I will refer to this point again presently. But it is necessary to direct attention to the great difference which exists between this view and the philosophical question, whether the existence of God can be demonstrated for the speculative mind from the intellectual apprehension of a distinction between right and wrong. Great Catholic philosophers have felt and shown a preference for the argument from the moral order to prove the existence of God for the speculative mind. But Modernists are not solicitous, in the domain of religion, to demonstrate the existence of God at all for the speculative reason: they say that the speculative truth of our beliefs is but "the flesh that profiteth nothing."

2. What is the Modernist conception of divine supernatural revelation? It is usual in Catholic theology to distinguish between natural and supernatural revelation, and between revelation and divine impulses and inspirations. All our natural knowledge, whether it has for its object religious or secular subjects, can be called a divine natural revelation; because our reason is from God, and consequently the intuitions of reason and the scientific conclusions which we draw by legitimate reasoning from the laws of the physical and moral universe can be called a divine revelation. There can also be impulses or inspirations of the Holy Spirit, even within the natural order. They are the workings of God in man, in the natural order. But besides this natural revelation, the Catholic Church teaches that God has made a supernatural revelation to the human mind; that He has revealed to man his supernatural destiny for the beatific vision, the mysteries of religion which lie outside the natural province of human thought, and also much that is cognisable by the natural powers of human reason. In the Modernist system there is no room for a distinction between natural and supernatural revelation; and Modernists present us with a very novel conception of supernatural revelation.

Divine supernatural revelation, they say, had its origin exclusively in man. God, as a Being distinct from man and from the world, has never spoken to the human mind. Supernatural revelation began as "a consciousness of right and wrong," "a preference of one line of conduct to another," "a sympathetic response to good and antipathetic response to evil." It is identical, therefore, with "the life of religion" in the Modernist sense. And the first consciousness of right and wrong is called by Modernists the original deposit of revelation and of faith, which has been varying ever since, they say, and dissolving itself into something different, not by dialectical discussions in Catholic schools, but by vital organic transformation in response to similar changes in the surroundings. And supernatural revelation survives to-day, they say, not as intellectualism alone, not as sentimentalism alone, not as pragmatism in a narrow sense, but as a broad liberal "consciousness of duty," and a "willingness" to perform it, in the wide field of literature, science, art, of industrial enterprise, of trade and commerce, of benevolence to the rising democracy, etc. This "consciousness" of right, and "willing" of right, is called the divine immanent in man. Some of the Modernists would permit us to believe with the speculative mind that there is no other God; that God is nothing more in reality than the divine in humanity, that is, the consciousness of duty and the will to perform it, immanent in the human race. It is immaterial to the life of religion, they say, what we believe or disbelieve with the speculative mind.

Now we can compare this theory of supernatural revelation either with the traditional Catholic conception of supernatural revelation, or with natural revelation, or with agnosticism. To begin with agnosticism: If it be held that there is no Supreme Being distinct from the world, or that His existence is unknowable, that God is but the divine immanent in humanity, the "consciousness" and "willing" of what is right, then there does not appear to be any difference between the supernatural revelation of the Modernists and the moral sense and morality recognised by speculative atheists and agnostics. If Modernists suppose the existence of a Supreme Being distinct from the world, then "consciousness of right and wrong" and "the preference of right to wrong" might be called a natural revelation and a divine natural inclination to good. But the Modernist conception of revelation has nothing in common with the traditional Catholic conception of supernatural revelation.

3. Having treated of revelation, we naturally proceed to inquire what the Modernists teach about the origin, the inspiration, and the intellectual truth of Sacred Scripture.

To begin with the intellectual truth of Scripture: Let me recall that, according to Father Tyrrell, "we *are*, each of us, a single 'willing.'" We *are*, each of us, a single act. This present act, which constitutes our personality, though really one, is virtually equivalent, he says, to a number of distinct acts. We may look on it as feeling, or as the speculative reason, or as will. It is as "feeling" that it belongs to the sphere of religion; for it is as "feeling" that it is a consciousness of right and a preference of right to wrong. The Scriptures, therefore, so far as they contain religious truth—and the same is said of the ecclesiastical creeds—are addressed not to the speculative reason, but to "feeling." They cannot express real intellectual truth when addressed to "feeling," which is understood to be by nature non-intellectual, non-cognitive. They express truth symbolically, the Modernists say. They are useful for fostering and stimulating religious life. They are true with the truth of goodness.

Modernists distinguish between intellectual truth and practical or pragmatic truth, and they observe that the Sacred Scriptures (and the creeds) can be considered from the point of view of the philosopher, the scientist and the historian, or from the point of view of faith. It may be, they say, that the Sacred Scriptures, considered from the point of view of reason, from the point of view, say, of the metaphysician, or historian, contain nothing but error; that the speculative atheist is right in saying there is no God, or the speculative agnostic in saying that the existence of God is unknowable; that the Unitarian is right in denying the doctrine of the Trinity; that there was, in reality, no incarnation of a pre-existing divine person; that Christ did not, in reality, rise from the dead; that the Church and the Sacraments, historically considered, are only of human institution. It is immaterial, they say, from the point of view of religion, whether we believe or disbelieve these truths mentally; for mental belief is but "the flesh that profiteth nothing." But, they say, it is necessary to accept them by faith; not, indeed, in the sense that faith means mental assent to revealed truth on the authority of the divine testimony, for God has never spoken to the human mind; but by employing them as practical guides, by living up to these formulæ as if they were in reality true.

Modernism is now generally admitted to be in reality identical with agnosticism, or, at best, with natural religion, invested in the garb of Catholic ecclesiastical terminology. But there is a special difficulty in understanding why the authors of Modernism adopted the irrational theory that

the Sacred Scriptures and the ecclesiastical creeds, from the point of view of religion, are merely directive practical guides for a non-cognitive faculty or act of "feeling." If it were held that the Sacred Scriptures and the creeds are intended to serve as guides for our feelings and affections, through our speculative reason, the theory would be mentally conceivable. But how can we conceive the Sacred Books to act as practical guides for a non-cognitive faculty? Can a book, or a collection of writings, without reference to a cognitive faculty, serve as an immediate guide for the hands or the feet or the lungs or the heart?

Such being the Modernist conception of the intellectual truth of Scripture, we naturally inquire what, according to the new theory, was the origin of the Sacred Books, and what is meant by inspiration. Here again, the Modernists would have us to observe that the Sacred Books can be considered from the point of view of the speculative intellect and from the point of view of faith. If we consider them from the point of view of the speculative intellect—in as far as they deal speculatively with doctrines or with the principles of morality, or history, or philosophy, or science, etc.—they are of human origin only, they say; they are the natural speculations of the human mind (some true, perhaps, and some false) about the world and man, their origin, and their destiny. And the origin of the Sacred Scriptures considered in relation to faith and religion? The religious "feeling," too, they say, began to cast about for a theory—a symbolised and practical theory—to express the movements of its own life. At different periods it adopted, or invented, now one theory and now another. Generally speaking, however, it borrowed largely from the speculative writings of theology, philosophy, and history. In this way it has come to employ the Sacred Books and the ecclesiastical creeds. But it is indifferent to their speculative truth. It employs them, solely because of their practical truth, because they are useful for fostering and stimulating the life of religion.

And the Inspiration of Scripture, what do Modernists conceive it to be? Every one, Father Tyrrell says, has the power of inventing some symbol or symbols to formulate the movements of his religious "feeling"; and accordingly every one is in some degree potentially inspired. But we are content, for the most part, Modernists say, to employ the symbols which have come down to us from the collective inspiration of the past. Hence, generally, it is only the great reformers who are said to be inspired, the men who, realising the inadequacy or the unsuitability to new and altered conditions of the old religious

formulæ, have burst the bonds of traditional conventionality, and reformed or revolutionised the old ecclesiastical creeds. Inspiration, therefore, in the Modernist sense, is the innate power of every one to invent or choose a practical expression for his religious life. It is in the power of every one. In some it exists in a more intense form than in others, but the difference is only one of degree. And in common usage those only who have revolutionised or reformed the traditional creeds have been said to be inspired.

4. We come, next, to the subject of development, and we inquire: what, in the Modernist theory, is understood by Doctrinal Development? It is very interesting to observe the different attitude of Modernists towards the authority and teaching of Cardinal Newman before and after the publication of the Encyclical "*Pascendi*." Before its publication Father Tyrrell differed from Cardinal Newman. "The purpose of the present writer's book called '*Lex Orandi*,'" he writes,\* "was to show . . . that 'vitality' is the test of truth, not in Newman's sense of the word," etc. But scarcely had the Encyclical been published when the friends of the Modernist movement, chiefly in England, sought to create a diversion by representing that in condemning Modernism the Pope had condemned the development theory of Cardinal Newman. But the Newman campaign is not taken seriously. It is a fundamental rule in the interpretation of propositions condemned by a Roman Congregation that the condemnation is to be understood to apply solely to the proposition or propositions under examination. Unless, therefore, the development theory of Cardinal Newman is proved to be identical with the development theory of the Modernists it cannot be said, at all, to come, even unintentionally, under the recent condemnation. What then is the Modernist conception of development? It can easily be conjectured from the preceding. Modernists, as we have seen, distinguish between what they call supernatural revelation, that is, the "consciousness" and "willing" of right both in the individual and in the whole community, and the verbal expression of this supernatural revelation. "Supernatural revelation," they say, has varied from the rudimentary "consciousness" and "willing" of right, which was characteristic of the primitive state of human society, until by successive transformations in the struggle for existence it has reached by natural selection the present liberal and highly developed "feeling" of right and

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\**Lex Credendi*, p. 1.



"willing" of right, in the wide sense of duty in the intellectual, ethical, and aesthetic orders. And parallel to the evolution of revelation, or of religious "feeling," there proceeded the evolution of a suitable vehicle or expression for revelation until we reach the Sacred Scriptures and the creeds. The religious "feeling," they say, as I have already described, began at an early period to snatch up some forms of words—whether they were true or false to the speculative mind it was indifferent—to express the movements of the religious life. Formulæ survived as long as they continued useful to foster the life of religion, but as soon as they ceased to be useful they disappeared, vanguarded in the struggle for existence by newer and more fruitful forms. And in this manner form succeeded form until evolution reached its term, so far, in the Scriptures and the ecclesiastical creeds. The Selector of the Scriptures and creeds, they say, has been, not a transcendental God speaking to the human mind or inspiring a human writer, nor a writer inspired by a transcendental God, nor a Church speaking to the intellect and mind of Christendom, but the religious "feeling" of the Christian world. It snatched up these forms, and has retained them thus far, irrespective of their intellectual truth or falsehood. They are proved to be true religiously or practically, and relatively to the present time, by the fact that they have survived in the struggle for existence, and that they are still felt by the Christian world to contribute to the expansion and vitality of the life of religion. But should the Scriptures and the creeds, or any articles of the creeds, as, for example, the divinity and resurrection of Christ, be found at some future time to impede the growth and expansion of the life of religion, they too must be given up, Modernists say, and other formulæ selected more in harmony, perhaps, with the scientific and democratic spirit of the age.

5. Finally we come to the Modernist conception of faith. Faith is not understood by Modernists to be intellectual assent to revealed truths on the authority of the divine testimony. Intellectual beliefs, they say, are but the flesh that profiteth nothing. Faith is represented by them to be the seizing or snatching up of the Scriptures and the creeds by a non-cognitive religious sense which they call "feeling," not through the medium of the mind but immediately, to formulate for itself in a practical, symbolical, non-intellectual manner, the movements and phenomena of the life of religion. And sometimes it is taken, to be identical with the "life of religion," namely—the consciousness and the "willing" of right, in a broad sense, in every department of human activity.

## II.

There will, I think, be no difficulty now in understanding how the principles I have described are applied by Modernists to the great truths of natural and of revealed religion.

Agnostic Modernists hold that it is immaterial, from the point of view of true religion, whether we believe mentally in the existence of a Supreme Being distinct from the world, or not. We may be speculative atheists or agnostics. We may believe with the speculative mind, they say, that really there is no God, or that His existence is unknowable. The all-important thing is—the “consciousness” and the “willing” of right. But in the present stage of the evolution of human society the theory or formula of a Supreme Being is proved to be useful for the vigour of religious life. We should therefore accept it by faith; that is, we should make use of it for the religious life, we should live as if it were true.

Similarly with regard to the doctrine of the Trinity: God has not revealed this mystery, they say, to the human mind. We may believe it with the mind or we may disbelieve it. We may believe that it involves a contradiction. Intellectual belief profiteth nothing. But in the present stage of religious development we should accept it by faith; not indeed with the faith which means assent of the intellect to truths supposed to have been revealed by God to the human mind, but with a practical faith, a regulative faith, by using it as a guide to our religious “feeling,” by living as if it were true. For whether the doctrine of the Trinity be true or false intellectually, they say, the theory of three divine persons living a life of union in a love-bound divine society can serve as a useful model of the relations which should subsist between the various members of the human society.

The Incarnation likewise, they say, we are not bound to believe mentally. We may, or may not, believe that a pre-existing divine person became man at the Incarnation; that Christ is God; that He was conceived of the Holy Ghost and born virginally of Mary; that He arose the third day from the dead. We may, they teach, as historians or philosophers or as scientists, mentally believe all these doctrines to be opposed to fact. It is sufficient if we accept them by faith, not, again, by intellectual faith, but by practical faith, by living as if these beliefs were really true.

Then as regards the Church and the Sacraments: it is indifferent, Modernists say, in the sphere of religion, whether we believe mentally in the divine origin of the Church and Sacraments, or not. As historians we may believe that

Christ died in the conviction that the end of the world was at hand, and, consequently, that He instituted neither a Church nor Sacraments. But, once more, we should accept them by faith ; that is, we should live as if Christ had really and historically instituted the Church and the Sacraments.

Finally, the Modernists depart very far indeed from the traditional Catholic belief about the Teaching Office in the Church. According to the Modernists—let me repeat—God has addressed no revelation to the mind of mankind. The Teaching Office of the Church, therefore, cannot be to explain, to define and to propose with authority, for our mental acceptance, a body of truths revealed by God for our intellectual acceptance. Revelation, they say, is the religious life of the individual and of society, the ever-widening consciousness of right and the willing of the right. Formulæ or theories, such as the Scriptures and the creeds, have been selected to express for the religious “feeling” the movements of this life of religion. Their intellectual truth is indifferent to the religious “feeling.” They are true with practical and regulative truth ; and the test of their religious truth is their general acceptance by the Christian society and their survival thus far in the struggle for existence. The Teaching Office therefore in the Church, according to the Modernists, is the mission and duty of following the general body of the faithful, of observing carefully what religious formulæ have survived in the Christian society, of defining with infallibility that these formulæ are infallibly true for the present time ; that is, that they are true with the truth of goodness. But if at any future time the formulæ which we now receive, namely, the Scriptures and the ecclesiastical creeds, should be found to impede the further growth and expansion of the life of religion, and should therefore be set aside, and other regulative formulæ should be substituted in their place by the general body of the faithful, it would be the duty of the Church, the Modernists say, to define, again infallibly, that the old formulæ had run their course, that the new formulæ are proved, by their universal adoption in the community, to be inspired for their own time, and to be infallibly true, not indeed with real historical intellectual truth, but with religious, that is, practical, regulative and representative truth.

This is the latest religious *eirenikon*, and claims to offer an easy and practical scheme for reconciling faith and science and for establishing religious peace in the world by uniting all mankind in one true universal fold, where Atheist and Theist, Jew and Gentile, Rationalist and Believer, Catholic and Protestant, can lie down in peace together. In

the Catholic Church, as conceived by the Modernists, the religious scruples of the speculative Atheist and Agnostic will be respected, because they can continue to believe mentally that there is no God, or that His existence is unemonstrable. The man of science and of modern thought will find nothing in its teaching which can hurt his susceptibilities, because he can still believe mentally that miracles are impossible, that there has been no divine revelation made to the human mind, that Christ is not God, that He was not conceived of the Holy Ghost, that He did not rise from the dead. But the Catholic? Well, in this Church of the future the Catholic too will find everything that he has hitherto been accustomed to, for, even if mental belief in the truths of religion should be no longer possible, can he not still believe all his old favourite dogmas at least by faith?

It took a considerable time to discover what exactly the Modernists meant by *faith*; and the equivocal use of this term, with the inevitable confusion of thought and the misunderstandings which accompany the equivocal use of language, explains the existence of what has been called a crisis in the Catholic Church. Seminarists and scientists not unnaturally welcome a theory which offers them relief from troublesome questions about the relations of faith and science. It would lighten the work of college considerably for master and pupil if, without prejudice to faith, they could accept the view that the existence of a supernatural revelation addressed to the mind need not be admitted; that the existence of miracles may be denied by the scientist; that the historian may deny the divinity and resurrection of Christ, and yet remain a loyal son of the Church. But sooner or later the questions were bound to force themselves in on the mind: How can I believe in the resurrection of Christ by faith if, as a historian, I am satisfied that Christ did not rise from the dead? how can I believe by faith if the antecedent scientific examination of the motives of credibility shows that faith is an impossibility? Then gradually the mist rose, and it became clear that a new conception of faith was being substituted for the old one. It was no longer the old faith, that is, mental adhesion to revealed truths on the authority of the word of God. Faith meant—if it was seriously intended by the author of Modernism, the Abbé Loisy, to mean anything at all—the acceptance of the Scriptures and of the creeds, not as true with intellectual truth, but as mere regulative formulæ. And the whole theory became incapable of clear mental presentation when Modernists began to represent that the Scriptures and the creeds, as truths of faith, are referred to

a non-cognitive religious sense, called "feeling," to represent and regulate its movements, not through the medium of reason, but by direct and immediate action on this non-cognitive sense itself. But the Encyclical "*Pascendi*" tore the veil off Modernism. It only wanted to be stripped of its ambiguous terminology. And with the promulgation of the Encyclical the crisis in the Church passed away. Modernism bears on it the stamp of its French origin. It is like Comtism or Positivism, an un-Catholic system dressed in the garb of Catholic terminology. As a system of religion it does not differ from agnosticism or, at best, from deism, except that it is presented to us in the language of Catholic orthodoxy. It has no real claim to be called "Modern," or to be considered the latest "evolution" of the idea of religion. It is not evolution, but "reversion" to an antecedent, pre-Christian, naturalist type.

## § 2.

### THE ATTITUDE OF PROTESTANTS TOWARDS MODERNISM.

Modernism does not appear to have interested Protestants in these countries very much until it was condemned by the Holy See. I have read most of the criticisms passed on the condemnation of Modernism, and it appears evident that the critics had never read a book or other writing, propounding Modernist views, of the authors whose theories are condemned in the Decree "*Lamentabili*" and in the Encyclical "*Pascendi*." Considering that Modernism is an insidious assault on the fundamental principles of Christianity one might naturally expect that its condemnation would have been received, if not with favour, at least passively, by Protestants. But it was not so. It was enough that the condemned theory was called "Modernism," and that it had been condemned by the Pope. The Protestant world is like the Opposition in Parliament—it must make its "protest" against every pronouncement and condemnation issuing from the Apostolic See; but, unlike the Parliamentary Opposition, it remains for ever in opposition, its blows neither cut nor bruise, it makes no impression whatever on the Catholic Centre of Authority.

When the condemnation of Modernism was announced Protestant critics scarcely knew what Modernism meant, or what attitude to take up towards its condemnation. When the Decree "*Lamentabili*" was published the newspapers confined themselves to the safe general statement that, unlike the Syllabus of Pius IX., the Syllabus of Pius X.—they always called it the *Syllabus*—refrained from interfering in questions of the political or social order. Then the Papal



Encyclical appeared. Soon after a Catholic contributor to the "Guardian," who signs himself "Cisalpine," wrote a criticism of the Encyclical for that paper, in which he was candid enough to admit that all Christians would agree in condemning the censured doctrines; but he found to his chagrin that the Encyclical was unfatherly and uncharitable in tone and in language, and completely lacking in piety! Then the Rev. Dr. Sweete, of Cambridge, sees more in the Encyclical than "Cisalpine" saw in it. He thinks it condemns the literary criticism of the Bible, the document-theory of the construction of the Hexateuch, the Marcan and non-Markan elements in the Synoptic narrative; that it teaches without qualification the absolute inerrancy of every line of the Sacred Scriptures; and he thinks that Rome is opposed to theological evolution, that according to Roman teaching there has been no vital development, but only mechanical unpacking of what was given from the first.\* Protestant critics generally confine themselves to inveighing against the Encyclical as another example of Rome's traditional hostility to freedom of thought and modern progress, without specifying where or how the Encyclical is opposed to scientific freedom or to modern progress. If you explain that the Encyclical does not condemn freedom of thought, that it deals exclusively with a definite system of religion, under the name of Modernism, which is subversive of the fundamental truths of Christianity, they reply: "Oh, if that were all, we should have nothing to say against the Encyclical; but there are people who think that the Encyclical goes farther than that." Finally M. Sabatier complains that the Encyclical reduces old priests to the alternative of retracting ideas at which they had voluntarily arrived or of being cast out into the street, there to die of hunger. The Curia, he says, was in a panic, for the denounced Modernists were legion. There were Modernists in the clergy, he says, in the Episcopate, in the bosom of the Sacred College. They are the devoted children of the Pope. But "a band of mercenaries had succeeded in surrounding the father of the family, and had been able to set up between him and his most devoted children an insuperable wall. But we must wait, for the day would certainly come when the father of the family would be deserted by the mercenaries, and when he would recall those for whom to-day he had only words of malediction and looks of anger."†

On these different forms of criticism I will venture to make

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\* "Guardian," Jan. 29, 1908.    † "The Times," Wed., Feb. 26.

a few remarks. They illustrate the habitual misrepresentation by a certain class of Protestants—through prejudice, no doubt, and in many cases unconsciously and indeliberately—of history, as a record of Catholic life and action. Two striking examples of this misrepresentation are fresh in the memory ; the treatment of the relation of the French Bishops to the Separation Law, and, in the present case, the account of the nature and the extent of the condemnation of Modernism. Henceforth two accounts will go down to all future generations of these two events ; what I may call the Government account and the Opposition account, the true account and the false account.

It is not true to say, as the Rev. Professor Sweete has written, that Pius X. has condemned the literary criticism of the Bible, or the document theory of the construction of the Pentateuch, or the presence of Marcan and non-Markan elements in the Synoptic narrative. The Pope has condemned one definite biblical system, the Modernist system, which I have described, and no more. It is not true to say that the Pope teaches, without a necessary explanation, the absolute inerrancy of every line of Scripture. God is the author of the Scripture and all its parts, the Church teaches. The Scripture is infallibly true to the extent and in the sense in which God inspired the sacred writers to write the inspired books. But it does not follow that there may not be, in a certain sense, errors in the Bible. An inspired writer, in quoting, for example, historical records, or scientific opinions, may merely quote these records or opinions as the views of others, or he may intend to cover them with his own authority. If he is inspired to quote them merely as the view of others, the divine inspiration does not guarantee the absolute truth of the opinions quoted, but merely that they are the historical views or the scientific opinions of another. The opinions in themselves may be false ; but they are true in the sense in which they are covered by inspiration, in the sense that they were the historical or scientific views of others, or, perhaps, popular beliefs prevalent at the time of the writer. Then how did Professor Sweete, in the face of the great controversies of the Reformation and of recent controversies too, make the extraordinary mistake of saying that Pius X. is opposed to theological development? Was it not the chief charge of the Reformers against the Church of Rome that she had been continuously developing from the early centuries, that she remained always "modern"? Is not the cry of all reformers: Back to the Gospels, Back to the "Ancientism" of the first centuries? Has not "development" been made a charge against Rome in recent times, at

the definition of the Immaculate Conception and at the definition of Papal Infallibility? Pius X. is not opposed to dogmatic development. He condemned one particular form or conception of development, but no more. The Pope, as the reviewer of Mr. Lilley's book in the *Saturday Review*\* so admirably puts it, will condemn with equal reason and consistency a particular form of "Ancientism," and a particular form of "Modernism," at one time, the "Ancientism" of Oxford and, at another, the "Modernism" of the Abbé Loisy; but he condemns neither "Ancientism" nor "Modernism" absolutely.

There is another point in Professor Sweete's article bearing on development to which I wish to refer. According to the Catholic ideal, he thinks, there has been no vital development, but only mechanical unpacking of what was given from the first; while he on the contrary believes that, "The original deposit held the whole sum of human ideas, but as the acorn holds the oak, not as a box holds properties ready for use." There is always a logical danger in the use of analogies; the danger of passing the bounds of analogy and of predicating of two subjects in an identical or univocal sense what is true only in an analogical, perhaps often only in a metaphorical, sense. The original deposit held the whole sum of revealed truth not precisely as the acorn holds the oak, nor yet as a box holds properties ready for use. Living things, we know, have the innate power of nutrition and growth, but surely intellectual truths have not the innate power of nutrition and growth. The development of the deposit of faith follows the analogy of the development of the great philosophical and scientific principles and conclusions rather than the analogy of the acorn. The principles and the established conclusions of philosophy and science cannot take in nutriment and grow like an acorn; they are the material or the instruments by which the mind works its way to further developments of science, to new scientific conclusions. And all this work is vital work, for intellectual work is vital work. And, in a similar way, we hold that the later definitions of the Church are the natural outcome of the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles, gradually evolved in the thought and experience of the Church under the unerring guidance of the Holy Ghost.

Finally, we protest against the Sabatier style of polemics, which is being imitated by some of our Protestant friends nearer home. Modernism, says M. Sabatier, has invaded the clergy, the Episcopate, even the Curia; in one diocese

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\*Feb. 22, 1908.

half the priests are Modernists, while in the adjoining diocese Modernism may not have got a foothold : this seminary may be a hotbed of Modernism, in that seminary it is denounced as the essence of all the heresies. But M. Sabatier very cautiously and prudently avoids giving particulars by which the truth of his statements can be tested. M. Sabatier, and with him some of the Trinity College Theologians, complains of the penalties recently inflicted by the Pope on "devout" priests and of their being cast into the street, there to die of hunger ; and while ordinarily they love to taunt Catholics with a want of courage and independence in remaining in a state of subjection to ecclesiastical authority, now they exhort the few rebellious priests and laymen who still unhappily oppose the teaching of our Holy Father to remain at all hazards within the fold. This appears to us, and I think it will appear to all unprejudiced witnesses, a very unprincipled style of polemics. Why do these critics not exercise their zeal for toleration in the defence of those Protestant or Anglican Clergymen who deny none of the great Christian truths, but who are guilty of the heinous crime of wearing the Roman Collar, of imitating Catholic ritual, and, perhaps, of inclining somewhat Romewards? Is it the view of "modern" Protestants that their clergymen may deny the existence of supernatural revelation, the Trinity, the divinity and the resurrection of Christ, but must not turn their face towards distinctively Roman doctrines? Is it their contention that clergymen should be allowed to retain their ecclesiastical livings even though they should make war on the teaching of their Church and refuse to comply with their ordination engagements? Protestant controversialists do not extend these principles to the affairs of their own Church. I have before me the Blue Books containing the "Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline." I find from the evidence that here in Ireland Protestant clergymen have lost their benefices, and others have been subjected to irritating ecclesiastical lawsuits, for much less serious doctrinal innovations than the Modernists have been charged with. I will quote a few paragraphs from the evidence of Mr. J. H. M. Campbell, K.C., M.P. :

3637. (Chairman)—I will ask you to deal with the question of doctrine and ritual?—They were three altogether, as stated. . . .

3638. We should be very much obliged to you if you would give us the facts?—One of them was a charge against a

clergyman in the diocese of Limerick for repudiating the doctrine of infant baptism, and for persistently declining to wear ordinary church vestments.

3639. May I ask what you mean by "ordinary church vestments"?—It happened to be an ordinary surplice in this case; he would not wear any robe at all. I may state I think that the defendant in that case was rather eccentric. However, he did not defend, he did not appear before the court of the General Synod, and they pronounced sentence of deprivation. . . . The second case was the case of a clergyman in the County of Down. The complaint against him was that he had publicly upheld and affirmed the sacrifice of the Mass, contrary to one of the Articles. . . . the matter came up before the Court of the General Synod, and on that occasion I think the defendant appeared in person; but they found the charge proved, and they gave him the usual time to recant. He thereupon sent up what purported to be a recantation, but which really re-affirmed the offence, and they declined to receive it, but gave him a further interval to remodel his recantation. He then sent up a recantation which was perfect in form, but he proceeded to write a letter to the newspapers to say that he did not believe in this recantation—he only did it because he had to do it. . . .

3640. . . They accepted his recantation, and he went back to his parish, but within a few months the Bishop and some of the wealthy laymen bought him out and he disappeared. . . . The other case was, perhaps, the most interesting, and the most important of them all—I think really the only what I might call big case that we have had on ecclesiastical law in my country since the disestablishment. It concerned the validity of a cross which was placed upon the Communion Table of St. Bartholomew's Church in the City of Dublin. . . . the rector in this particular case got a wooden tripod and placed it immediately behind the Communion Table, and there he placed this cross standing on the top of this tripod. . . . and finally a resident in the parish, not a parishioner but a resident in the parish, took proceedings in the diocesan court. . . . It came before the court of the diocesan synod, which consisted of Archbishop Plunkett, Lord Justice FitzGibbon, and the present Dean of the Chapel Royal (Dean Dickenson), who unanimously held against the petitioner on every point.

3641. . . We then appealed to the court of the General Synod, and the court which sat consisted of the late Primate, Dr. Knox; the present Primate, then Bishop of Derry; the Bishop of Cashel, Lord Justice Holmes, Mr. Justice Gibson, the late Mr. Justice Munro, and the late Mr. Justice Murphy.



The court differed, but the four legal members of the court and the Bishop of Cashel decided in my favour. . . and, if I may say so with all respect, it seemed to me absolutely impossible that they could have avoided coming to any other conclusion ; because the words of the canon are . . . .  
 "Nor shall any cross be erected or depicted upon the Communion Table, or upon the wall or upon any structure behind the Communion Table."

3642. Two of the ecclesiastical members dissented and gave a separate judgment. . . They held that "structure" there meant some portion of the permanent building.

3643. What was the ultimate result?—The ultimate result is rather interesting. The order went that the cross was to be removed, and within a few days it was removed, but it was placed within about a foot of the Communion Table, in front of it, where it has ever since remained.

This was the only "big ecclesiastical case" that Irish Protestants have had since the disestablishment. It engaged the serious attention of Bishops and Judges of the Superior Courts. And, here in Ireland, Protestants who made all this fuss about the position of the tripod and the cross now assail the Pope "for his unfortunate Encyclical against freedom of thought," when he has merely come forward as the opponent of error and the defender of the great fundamental truths of Christianity.

### § 3.

#### THE CONDEMNATION OF MODERNISM AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM.

The writer of the leading article in the "Church of Ireland Gazette," to which I referred in the beginning of this chapter, seems to have been completely discomfited by the evidence given by Professor Magennis and Dr. M'Weeney before the Roberstson and Trinity College Commissions on the intellectual freedom of Catholics. I will quote the evidence of Dr. M'Weeney before the Trinity College Commission.

2848. Lord Chief Baron—You have never known any difficulty to arise by reason of investigation not being allowed to go beyond a certain point?—Oh, no, not at all.

2849. Now; are you aware of this? There was a great deal of evidence given before us upon the doctrines of the Catholic Church ; are you aware that according to the doctrines of the Catholic Church investigation can go to any length whatever?—Of course I am.

2850. And that the only matter that is interfered with is teaching as distinct from investigation?—What is interfered with, as I understand, is the drawing of very large speculative deductions, the foundation of a sort of inverted cone of theory and speculation upon a relatively small basis of observed fact, and then the utilisation of that for the purpose of upsetting the religious convictions of students and young half-educated people who are not clever enough to see the difference between fact and inference.

2851. They do, I believe, prohibit the teaching of doctrines contrary to revealed religion?—Certainly.

2852. But they do not interfere with investigation, no matter to what length it may be carried?—No, because the facts proved by investigation cannot possibly conflict with religious truth ; you cannot have one form of truth conflicting with another.

2853. You have been Professor of Biology, have you not?—I have taken a very deep interest in Biology for many years. Originally my special subject was Cryptogamic Botany, but, as a matter of fact, the subjects of my Professorship are Bacteriology and Pathology.

2854. How many years have you been engaged in the study of those subjects?—Ever since I was twenty years of age.

2855. And how long ago is that?—Twenty-one years ago.

2856. During those twenty-one years have you ever found the slightest interference with your teaching by any Catholic doctrine?—Not the slightest—in fact I never came in contact with Catholic dogma.

But where now is your intellectual freedom? asks the writer in the "Church of Ireland Gazette." How do you reconcile this evidence with the teaching of the Encyclical?

The Modernists themselves would have no difficulty in reconciling the teaching and disciplinary rules of the Encyclical with belief in unlimited intellectual freedom. They would say that the Encyclical, like the Scriptures and the creeds, is not addressed to the mind, that it does not express intellectual truth, that it need not be accepted mentally. The spiritual life, they would say, can sometimes be nurtured on the practical truth of an intellectually false proposition, and the Church can condemn a true theory, not as intellectually false, not as if it should be believed mentally to be false, but solely in the practical interests of the spiritual life. "To take the most unfavourable case," writes Father Tyrrell,\* "the condemnation of Galileo may have been

ultimately inspired not by any alleged speculative interest of science or astronomy or even of exegesis, but by a just fear of the spiritual disaster that would result from a sudden revolution of theological thought for which the general mind was as yet wholly unprepared. Scientifically the argument from practical inconveniences is inadmissible, but 'pastorally' it should be respected within due limits."

I do not accept this mode of reconciliation. There is, in effect, no new limitation put to intellectual freedom by the Encyclical. The Encyclical condemns one particular theory of revelation, one special theory of inspiration, one definite conception of the truth of Scripture and the creeds, one particular conception of doctrinal development, of the Church, of the Sacraments. It is a strange logical sophism to extend the condemnation of a particular series of theological and biblical opinions so as to make of it a general condemnation of scientific freedom. The intellectual freedom of Catholics remains the same after the Encyclical as it was before the Encyclical. Now, as before the Encyclical, the only limitation which the Church sets to the intellectual freedom of Catholics is that they shall not deny revealed doctrine. But the disciplinary measures, they say to us, do you like them? are they compatible with intellectual freedom? We say, we do not like them. We go further and say that the Holy Father himself does not like them. No one, I suppose, loves coercive measures, whether enacted by the Church or by the State. But if they are never dictated by love for themselves, they are sometimes justified by necessity. Considerable confusion was being caused in the Church by the propagandism of the Modernists who, under the guise and dress of Catholic terminology, were instilling into the minds of their hearers and readers the virus of deism and agnosticism. Pius X. has taken the measures which he considered necessary to counteract and eradicate this particular form of propagandism. The broader question of intellectual freedom he has left just where it was before. Outside the small number of the Modernists, Catholics are unaffected by these measures. They go on just as they did before.

It is singularly inconsistent in those who are always clamouring for coercion in Ireland, where remedial measures, and not coercion, would maintain social order, to join in the outcry against the Holy Father because he has taken disciplinary measures to safeguard the common heritage of Christendom. Why, again, do they not apply their zeal to the task of securing toleration for their persecuted brethren in the Anglican Church? They speak of espionage in the Catholic Church. But have they read the evidence given

before the recent Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline? There, page after page, is a narrative of spying in the Anglican Church. It is not a report of legitimate supervision exercised by the responsible heads of the Church. It is evidence of spying. And on what? To see if certain Anglican clergymen denied the existence of supernatural revelation? or the inspiration and the truth of the Sacred Scriptures? or the Divinity of Christ, and His resurrection from the dead? Not at all; but to see where the tripod and the cross were placed; to see if the clergymen affected wearing Roman vestments; if they took up the eastward position; if they elevated the elements; if they had children's services; if they had devotions to the B. V. Mary. These are very interesting volumes, the Blue Books containing the minutes of the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. I would respectfully recommend Protestants to leave the Encyclical of Pius X. to the care of Catholics, and to devote their attention to a careful study of these volumes. Catholics have found with very great satisfaction that the Encyclical has unmasked and demolished the batteries of Modernism; and that it leaves them in the enjoyment of the fullest intellectual freedom.

## POSTSCRIPT.

### The King's Letter.

Quite recently the Board of Trinity College received from the King Letters Patent conferring new powers and authorising certain reforms in the college. The King's Letter deals with the Board, the Council, election to Fellowship, the Divinity School, and with power to make statutes and laws for the College.

1. Hitherto the Board has consisted of the Provost and seven Senior Fellows (see pages 28-33.) Henceforth four additional members shall be added: two junior Fellows elected by their own body, and two Professors similarly elected by their own body. And it is provided that this change shall take effect before the Long Vacation of the present year, 1911.

2. The Council has hitherto consisted of the Provost, or in his absence the Vice-Provost, and sixteen members of the Senate, four elected by the Senior Fellows, four by the Junior Fellows, four by the Professors, and four by the Senate (pp. 27,28). Henceforth it shall consist of the Provost, the Senior Lecturer, the Registrar, and sixteen members of the Senate elected as follows: two by the Board, ten by the Junior Fellows and Professors, and four by the Senate.

3. The next provision deals with the election to Fellowship. Heretofore the Board has been compelled to elect a Fellow every year regardless of the college's actual needs. For mode of election hitherto followed see pp. 34-38. The King's Letter provides that the Board shall no longer be obliged to hold a Fellowship examination every year, or to elect a Fellow every year. The Board may still appoint by examination. But the Board may now elect at any time in the year, without examination, a Professor of the University to a Fellowship of the College, provided that such election have the assent of the majority of the existing Fellows. And with the same assent persons of distinction in science or literature may be elected Honorary Fellows.

4. The next change affects the Divinity School. The Council has never had any voice in the appointment of professors in the Divinity School; they have been appointed by the Board (p. 76, q. 649.) Now a special Council is appointed



for the Divinity School, to consist of the Provost, five members representing the Board, three members of the teaching staffs and three members to be nominated by and from the Bishops of "the Church of Ireland."

The "Guardian" describes the change in the Divinity School thus:

"The Divinity School is to be governed by a Council, composed of five representatives of the Senior Fellows, three of the Divinity Professors, and three Bishops, with the Provost as Chairman, it being explicitly provided that every member of the Council shall be a member of the Church of Ireland, or of a Church in communion therewith. . . . The regulations for Divinity Degrees rest, as before, with the Governing Body of the College, and over these the new Divinity Council will have no authority."\*

What is the meaning of the provision that all the members of the Council must be members of the Church of Ireland? Surely, according to Fawcett's Act, the Provost need not be a member of the "Church of Ireland," nor is there a test for the Senior Fellows. I suppose the meaning is that the Senior Fellows, whatever their own religious profession may be, must select as their representatives on the Divinity Council, from their own body or from outside their own body, men who are members of the "Church of Ireland."

5. But the most important provision of the King's letter remains. The first Charter of the College, the Charter of Elizabeth, vested in the Provost and Fellows the power of making laws and statutes for the College. The Charter of Charles I. withdrew that power, and reserved it to the King. And now the Letter of George V. restores it to the College, but with this limitation, that new laws or alterations of laws must have the assent of the majority of the Fellows, and must not affect the constitution of the Board or of the Council of the Divinity School.

\* "Guardian," June 9, 1911, p. 781.





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